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Granville Sharp.

Ætat. 58.

Published for the Proprietor May 1820.

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PREFACE.

ABOUT the time that a Monument to Mr. Granville Sharp's memory was erected in Westminster Abbey by the African Institution, it was understood to be the intention of that body to publish an account of the services which he had rendered to the cause of African freedom. This intention being communicated to Mr. Sharp's family, they were desirous of enlarging the proposal so far as to include a memorial of his whole life; and the plan being determined, the task of performing it was assigned to an intimate friend, whose abilities and professional character rendered him eminently suited to the undertaking. The pressure of other occupations induced him after a time to relinquish it; and I received a request from the Executrix that I would take the charge on myself. Obligations of gratitude to the Family precluded refusal on my part; and my high respect for the Person whose life was to be the subject of the Memoirs, made me accede

cheerfully to the proposal: but in giving my consent, I did not form an adequate idea of the task in which I was about to engage. The most voluminous and diffuse documents were consigned to my care, from which I had to extract whatever might be thought useful to the public, and (what was far more difficult) in which I was to discover and trace a connected thread of Mr. Sharp's progressive actions through his long and important life.

That such a task would be tedious, it was easy to anticipate. But it has been further protracted by causes which could not be foreseen,—by the suffering of repeated illness since the period when I first printed my Prospectus—of illness aggravated not unfrequently by an apprehension that, as the real cause of the delay could be known only to a few, I might suffer no slight imputation of neglect in the performance of what I had undertaken.

I have, however, persevered at every interval of amendment; and have reason to hope, that I have finally omitted nothing that materially affects the exemplary man whose history is to be told. At the same time, conscious that contemporary biography loses something of its value by each year of delay, I

have endeavoured occasionally to compress the *individual*, and enlarge the *general* interest of the Narrative, so as in some measure to compensate the time that has elapsed. I have also prefixed anecdotes of Mr. Sharp's immediate predecessors, which, from the eminent station of one of them, and the exemplary beneficence of all, may be thought to add value to my work.

As Mr. Granville Sharp's Memoirs are of a very complicated kind, it is necessary that I should say a few words of the method which I have pursued in the arrangement of them.

And first, that I might render a distinct account of the benefits which he conferred on his age, I have thought it expedient, in consideration of the *variety* of his actions, to attend rather to the chronology of each action separately, than to that of his whole life collectively. A man busied with one object or in one pursuit alone, may be followed chronologically, through the whole of his action, with advantage; but when the objects and avocations are numerous, as in the instance of Mr. Sharp, it would be merely to perplex the reader's attention to adhere to that mode of proceeding, and to shift him at every instant, like Ariosto's readers, from one subject to another. I have therefore

continued to trace each of his actions through its progress to its final term; and, of course, the beginning of every new subject is of an earlier date than the conclusion of the preceding one. With this ruling view I have united as much general regularity of dates, as the nature of such a method would allow.

But of a life so extensively varied, it is nearly impossible to collect all the particulars: many circumstances, which became immediate springs of action to a mind promptly excited to beneficence, were probably known solely to himself, or their detail has perished with those who are gone before us. Whatever documents, however, were left by him, regarding topics of interest, are here preserved, even although the knowledge of some of the facts to which they relate may still remain imperfect. At the same time, some particulars which I have preserved may be thought too minute for general interest; but it is only by a detail of the many minute acts of goodness to which he directed his attention, that his character can be fully shown: and perhaps some degree even of tediousness in the narrative was necessary, in order to establish it completely.

In reading the lives of men who have been renowned

in distant times and countries, our principal object is to learn the actions which they performed: in those of our own countrymen, and in our own time, our curiosity is raised to learn the *manner*, rather than the *history*, of their proceedings. We are all of us more or less acquainted with what they have done, and our desire is to learn by what means they have done it. In the present instance, I have endeavoured to exhibit the character in this respect, by adverting principally to his own Notes and Letters. It has been less my endeavour to be the relater of his life, than to make him speak for himself; to show him in his own Memoranda,—which I have therefore kept as distinct as possible, sometimes at the risk of appearing abrupt.

Conceiving, as I do, that Mr. Sharp was one of those men whose name is likely to go down to late posterity, I have united with his private actions as much of the general history of the concerns in which he took part, as may render his Memoirs not wholly an unimportant document to the historian of events.

His life may be divided under four principal heads.

1. The Liberation of African Slaves in England.
2. The Colonization of Sierra Leone.
3. The Establishment of Episcopacy in America.
4. The Abolition of the Slave Trade.

To these may be added, his attempt to reconcile the British Colonies with England, at the commencement of the American troubles.—Were there no other records, these will probably be thought sufficient to give importance to his Memoirs; yet they form a part only of the promiscuous range of action to which his benevolence gave birth.

"If a good man were a great one," said a friend to me, whose talents the public has justly appreciated, "you have an excellent subject for a Memoir." As this sentiment seemed to place goodness in the second degree of rank, I was surprised at hearing it from one who has proved himself capable of feeling and expressing many of the finer emotions of the heart. With due deference to talents of every kind, I conceive the highest object of literary composition to be *moral utility;* and I consider the pretensions to fame of every writer, nay, the very name even of a poet himself, to be forfeited, when that great end of literature is abandoned or perverted. Dangerous examples may arise, which have a tendency to impress a contrary belief. They have arisen in the present day, to the regret of every friend to genius, in works which, but for their deficiency in this important point, are entitled to strong claims on our admiration. But, dangerous

as such examples are to the real interests of literature, it is consoling to think that they cannot ultimately be fatal, because, as far as their influence on other writers extends, the consequences must appear, on reflection, prejudicial to that which every writer values in a very high degree,—the stability of his reputation.

A desire to promote the interests of virtue will be found to be not the measure of the honesty only of the literary man, but to include also that of his understanding and fame. A full sense of the loveliness and *pre-excellence* of virtue, is indispensable in the character of those who lay claim to the highest human capacity. Virtue is the truth of moral relations. That which all agree to call by the name of virtue, is that which the consenting acknowledgment of all men in all ages has demonstrated to be most right, because most useful; and whatever deviation either our passions or our interests may seem to justify in our own sight, he who mistakes deviation for rectitude will fairly be suspected of unsound faculties.

The writer, or poet, therefore, who deserts his moral obligations to his fellow-creatures, by failing to impress images of excellence on the mind, does not write for immortality. The course of time affords examples of

the stable permanence of fame in those writers only, in whose works a sense of religion and virtue holds a conspicuous station. Homer, Pindar, Plato, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and as many more as are eminent on record, are instances of this truth. The first of those here named, ranking the highest in fame, has, it is true, been sometimes considered chiefly as the dramatist, the natural representer of human passions; and his eminence attributed to this cause. But, besides the exalted tenour of innumerable virtuous sentiments dispersed through the Iliad, that work is distinguished above most others by its frequent reference of all that is passing, in its greatest events, to the deities who preside over human actions. I do not speak of the good sense, or the absurdity, of those supposed deities: they were the religion of Homer's time; and the submission of all human actions to their influence (absurdly called *machinery*), is one great source of the dignity of Homer's work.

The case is, in this respect, the same with those far sublimer Writings, which we Christians venerate. Exclusively of the reference of the Old Testament to the later events of Christianity, the history in itself impresses us with awe, inasmuch as it is the history

of a guiding Providence over the progress of a favoured nation. It is, in fact, a history of the dispensations of Providence; and it is this never-ceasing reference to a superintending Divinity, kept constantly in view, which gives it a dignity and an authority surpassing all other histories in the world.

Indeed, considering the immensely powerful effect produced on the reader, or hearer, by this circumstance, it appears surprising, that the *mode* (if I may use that term) of the sacred narration has been so rarely imitated. Among the ancients, as I before observed, Homer, as an epic poet, has made the greatest similar attempt. Our own Milton has followed the same path; to which he was led by the nature of his subject. Among modern historians, I find one instance only of daring to look up to so high an example, in the admirable Moral Survey of English History by Mr. Sharon Turner,—a work secure of increasing estimation.

With similar observation,—with unerring reference to the Author and Guide of all,—the subject of these Memoirs traced, in thought, in discourse, and in writing, the events of every day.

Having mentioned the criticism of one friend on my undertaking, I may be allowed to state the high

approbation of another, who commended it, "because" (to use also his own words) "it is desirable to raise to public distinction those whose private character has contributed to influence the happiness of mankind." I feel a pleasure in stating, that this gratifying encouragement came from the lips of Mr. Wilberforce.

If I shall not be found to have effected this desirable point, I have at least shown my own desire to that purpose, and shall, I trust, have contributed to the gratification of many of my readers by so doing: for, although the Memoirs of Granville Sharp do not furnish the history of a *hero*, in the ordinary acceptation of that name, I am persuaded, by my own feelings, that there are few who will not find him to have been one, and who would not exult in possessing, among the members of their family, such a relative as Granville appears in his public and private virtues.

Of the anxiety with which these Memoirs have been collected, it does not become me to speak. I am conscious that circumstances of that nature are of no concern to the Public, except so far as, in the present case, they have contributed, I trust, to an unimpeachable veracity in the recital of Mr. Sharp's history. My apprehensions and my diligence have never ceased

to increase with the increasing view of the responsibility which I had drawn on myself, and the nature of the character which I was to display. *One* part of my task was foreign to the general tenour of my studies; and *that* part has been supplied by the distinguished Prelate who, from a zealous regard for his departed friend, has condescended to become my coadjutor in the present work.

Besides his valuable support, I have acknowledgments to make to many other of Mr. Sharp's friends, for the ready and obliging assistance which I have received from them: particularly to the Rev. Mr. Owen, for much useful information;—to Zachary Macaulay, Esq., for his great attention in supervising the historical narrative of the colony of Sierra Leone;—to Thomas Clarkson, Esq., for the most cordial interest in my inquiries on several occasions;—to Stephen Catley, Esq., Chairman of the Protestant Association; Thomas Harrison, Esq., Secretary to the African Institution; William Wilberforce, Esq.; the Rev. John Hutton; Granville H. Wheeler, Esq.; the Rev. John R. Williams; Sir Watkin Lewes; William L. Newman, Esq., City Solicitor; Mr. Chamberlain Clarke; John Poynder, Esq.; Mr. Deputy Box; Robert H. Inglis,

Esq.; William Tooke, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Hamilton,—for various communications.

I am likewise indebted to his Excellency Richard Rush, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America; Archibald Impey, Esq.; Charles Few, Esq.; and other friends, for attentions by which they have had it in their power to advantage my work.

In the obituary tributes which were paid to Mr. Sharp's memory in several respectable publications, I observed, together with a general desire for a just biographical detail, the expression also of a wish, that, in the performance of such a task, the writer (whoever he might be) should draw a *veil* over some *peculiarities* of Mr. Sharp's character.

This sentiment entirely coincided with my own feelings at my commencement of the Memoirs; but in the further contemplation of the life and conduct of the Subject of them, I felt his character to be of that high and dignified nature, to leave no necessity for such a precaution, but sufficient to bear him safely above the little cavils which may be levelled at any excess of benevolent zeal. I own I see nothing to veil;

and if I am wrong, it is an error of my deliberate judgment. He was himself without disguise, "walking always before God,"—the delight of his family, and the benefactor of his race.

If circumstances or opinions appear at times tinged with no slight degree of human weakness, they are no just cause of alarm to his biographer. The sensibilities of the heart have no tendency to lower the standard of a virtuous character, more especially when those sensibilities are excited by the fervent impulses of religious faith.

I have, therefore, endeavoured boldly to delineate him, such as he stood in the face of man, and have merely *abridged*, of his own records, what I thought might be deemed tedious in the recital.

Of the memoirs of good men, it may be said, as of their tombs, that "as honours are paid to the dead in order to incite others to the imitation of their excellence, their principal intention is to perpetuate the examples of virtue, that the *history* of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and veneration for his memory produce the same effect as the observation of his life*."

* Dr. Johnson's Essay on Epitaphs.

It only remains to notice a circumstance which might otherwise appear to be an oversight. Besides the numerous letters selected from Mr. Sharp's correspondence, and inserted in the course of the Narrative, the reader will find a reference to some few others which do not appear with it. They were at first designed for insertion with the Appendix; but it having since been judged desirable by Mr. Sharp's friends that the whole of his correspondence should be collected together, to form the materials of a future publication, they have been relinquished for that purpose.

The present Memoirs, being ready for publication, have been directed to be delivered to the Subscribers, without further delay.

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ERRATA.

Page 14, line 1 ..... *for* Smallridge, *read* Smalridge.
17, note ..... *for* Ethelstone, *read* Adderstone.
ditto ..... *for* been washed in, *read* drifted in.
35, line 20 ..... *for* Muyssen, *read* Muysson.
80, line 11 ..... *for* have, *read* had.
94, last line but two of note ... *dele the words* See Appendix.
104, line 14 ..... *for* procedure, *read* proceedings.
160, line 7 ..... *for* Introduction, *read* addition to the Introduction.
192, second line of note..... *for* the preceding, *read* a preceding.
222, line 13 *et passim* ..... *for* Prevost, *read* Provost.
284, line 3 ..... *read the line thus:* All the information which was thus obtained, concurred, *&c.*
335, last line but five ..... *for* Nambanna, *read* Naimbanna.
337, line 21 *et passim* ..... *for* Rohanna, *read* Robanna.
344, last line but three ..... *for* Facitus, *read* Tacitus.
348, note ..... *for* Punchase *read* Purchas.
393, last line ..... *dele* his; *and for* demanded, *read* demands.
399, last line but one of note..... *for* £500, *read* £5000.
418, line 19 ..... *for* Larthenas, *read* Lanthenas.
420, line 23 ..... *for* Sessions, *read* Session.
437, last line but four of note ... *for* 1805, *read* 1815.
453, line 4 ..... *for* brother's, *read* brothers'.
463, line 6 ..... *for* actions, *read* action.
477, last line of note ..... *for* 213, *read* 263.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

"WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM."

INTRODUCTORY

View of Mr. Sharp's general Course of Action.—Account of his Family.—His Character and Principles.

LOVE OF MANKIND is a virtue of Christian date; and if it be true, that the age which is itself the most fertile of noble qualities, is also the most capable of valuing them justly, never, in any period, were examples of this virtue likely to sink more deeply into the heart than at the present time. Since the æra of its first and brightest appearance, in the FOUNDER of our Holy Faith, no age has been so much distinguished by its influence as our own. The Sovereigns of insulted empires have warred but to protect, and conquered but to spare. *Our* country, in particular, has been largely blessed by Providence both with the will and the means to demonstrate the effects of the divine principle. The English shield has been stretched forth over the weak and oppressed of distant lands, and the bounty of England has flowed, in relief of human sufferings, on thousands who derived, perhaps, their first knowledge of our nation from its public acts of compassion and beneficence.

Nor are the exemplary charities of individuals unknown or unremembered among us. We venerate the names of a Hanway and a Howard; we recal them to our hearts and lips, when the distress of the unfriended claims a tear, or when the conscious sense of our common frailties demands an alleviation of penance, however merited by transgression, and prompts us to recollect that *we also are men.*

But, together with the celestial precept of charity, and under the garb of humane sentiment, a misconceived spirit of public lenity has crept in upon our social state, and is discernible in the relaxation of public morals. Those feelings of compassionate forbearance towards the weakness of an offender, which in their just degree do honour to our bosoms, although too often hastily excluded from our individual concerns, are unguardedly conceded without reserve to objects of more general, but remote, agency. Abuses, which disgrace a system of moral and political order, are at distance indolently overlooked; and perfidies, which sap the base of mutual security, and corrode domestic happiness at the core, are, in description, palliated under forms of venial aspect and softened names, which insidiously plead in excuse of the most abhorred and pernicious vices.

To present, therefore, the history of an artless and innocent man, incapable of guile or enmity, who devoted mature life to philanthropical pursuits, and every where went about doing good, is but to hold up to the virtuous part of the present generation a bright image of its own mind. To shew the example of an equally mild and discriminating philanthropist, an equally complacent and severe censor, unwearied in kindness yet inflexible in judgment, and, although unmoved to resentment, implacable to aggression and dangerous error, is a lesson still in store for our advantage. That example, and that lesson, the following narrative is designed to convey. Some apology is to be made for the undertaking.—

Whoever considers the integrity, sincerity, candour, zeal, constancy, devout piety, and learning, of the subject of these Memoirs—exemplified, as they were, by the exercise of his faculties and attainments in an unremitting series of acts of beneficence—will perceive, that

some record of his virtuous course is due to mankind. Whoever reflects on the variety of his undertakings in concerns of the most arduous nature; on the extensiveness and depth of his researches in different languages and sciences, in Biblical Literature, in the religious and political rights of our Constitution, our Country, and our Nature—researches diligently pursued through the greater portion of a life uninterrupted by sickness, and protracted to nearly fourscore years —will feel how inadequate the labour of any individual must be to a full examination and just display of all that was useful and instructive in his eminent example.

Happily, the willing concurrence of some of his most valued contemporaries, in the completion of a grateful tribute, lightens the task, and smooths the path of investigation; while his own manuscript notes, and other authentic documents bequeathed by himself, supply his biographer with the most copious and authentic materials, sufficient to inspire a hope, that the Memorial, contained in these pages, may gratify remembrance to its fullest extent, and tend alike to stimulate and guide the philanthropist of future ages.

A task of this nature, from its beneficial tendency, has become incumbent on Mr. Sharp's surviving friends. No character, in any age, has been presented to view, in which the principle of exemplary action was more wholly unmixed with such motives as too often alloy, in human bosoms, the pure and holy desire of doing good. Those to whom his heart was most open, never detected there the faintest accent of vanity, or the most secret sigh for selfish distinction; and the reader will often be surprised to find, that transactions of such magnitude and importance were accomplished by one whose name had scarcely pervaded the general ear. But the meekness of humility passes by in unnoticed beneficence, and its actions too frequently find in themselves their sole reward. Yet many circumstances concurred, in the present instance, gradually to establish a degree of unavoidable celebrity. It was nearly impossible for a series of virtuous actions to be extended to any great length, without attracting the attention and respect of those who surrounded their sphere of

motion. The undeviating track of extreme rectitude, which from early youth he silently prescribed to himself, drew, at first, no other notice than from its singularity; and it wore in the vulgar eye an appearance of visionary enthusiasm, rather than of the real simplicity of heart by which it was dictated. Time, the explorer of all truths, has ascertained, that his ability, and his activity in the cause of the good and the suffering, his rigid adherence to the precepts of conscience and faith, were not the wavering flashes of a heated fancy, or the sparkling of an illusive moment; but that a religious reverence of human rights superseded every feeling of private interest; that indefatigable toil in their support was with him a work of complacency; and that every important effort of his action proceeded from a rooted and steady principle in his mind, which had for its basis and its scope the eternal interests of his fellow-creatures.

His example may, in these respects, be usefully looked up to by the young, and even by the ambitious. It will afford a proof, confirmed by experience through a long course of years, of the intrinsic force of virtuous conduct, proceeding on the sure foundations of diligence and knowledge. Humble as his situation was in early life, the doors of the mighty were opened to him, and he found access and attention among men of all parties in church and state. It was easily ascertained that his motives were of the purest kind; his presence, therefore, could not fail to be acceptable to the good; and it was soon perceived that his researches and his counsel could assist the wise.

At the time when this extraordinary man began his career of action, some important points in our admirable Constitution had been less discriminately examined, or less accurately defined, than they are in the present day. In particular, the cause of *reputed* Slaves in our free country, although it had furnished opportunities of speculative argument in several instances, yet remained wholly unestablished by any legal rule, to which future cases might be referred. The judgments which had been given in our courts, were fluctuating and

various, resting on no general principle; nor had the application of any one of them ever extended beyond the existing case.

Reason allows us to look forward to a time (in the eye of hope not far distant), when the established freedom of Africans shall leave in comparative obscurity the efforts of individuals in their behalf. Yet the active virtue of those individuals remains unaltered, and the details of proceedings, which redeemed an ignominious debt of prejudice, and tended to rescue a continent of future heroes and philosophers from captivity and torture, must for ever awaken the sympathy and attract the admiration of mankind.

The great and upright Chief-Justice Holt, the dauntless vindicator of our laws in the reigns of William and Anne, had decided, that, as soon as a Negro comes into England, he becomes free; because "one may be a villeyn in England, but not a slave*."

In opposition to his high authority, (and probably to obviate the effects which it had produced), in the year 1729 the opinions of the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General were procured by some interested persons, and published, "in order," as the preamble states, "to rectify a mistake, that Slaves become free by their being in England, or by their being baptized." The opinions of these two able lawyers were altogether adverse to the liberty of the Negro in England. They declare, that "a Slave, by coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, either with or without his master, *doth not* become free; and his master's property or right in him is not thereby determined or varied: nor doth baptism bestow freedom on him, or make any alteration in his temporal condition, in these kingdoms." "We are also," they add, "of opinion, that the master may legally compel him to return again to the Plantations."

(Signed) "P. YORK,
C. TALBOT."

On the other hand, the opinion obtained from these latter authorities, did not prevent a favourable verdict in behalf of two Negroes,

* See Salkeld's Reports, Vol. ii. p. 666.

about the years 1732 and 1739. But such partial efforts were without any farther influence, and seem at last to have wholly sunk under the preponderating weight of York and Talbot's declaration. The disrespect for human freedom proceeded to so great a length, that our common newspapers not unfrequently contained advertisements for the sale of Slaves, in common with any other stock. One advertisement in the *Gazetteer*, April 18, 1769, classes together for sale, "at the Bull and Gate Inn, Holborn, a *chesnut gelding*, a *Tim whisky*, and a *well-made, good-tempered Black Boy**." Rewards were also offered for recovering and securing fugitives, and for conveying them down to certain specified ships in the river, with this additional proviso, "*The utmost secrecy may be depended on*†."

In the same open manner was the inhuman traffic authorized in our American colonies. Their daily papers denounced, in every page, those wretched beings, who had either escaped from bondage, or were secured for sale. The mother and the child might, in the latter case, be purchased in one, or in separate lots, as best suited the interest of the buyer‡; while, in the former, the punishment that was sometimes menaced, and the reward that was promised, appear to have been dictated by a spirit next to infernal§.

* Sharp's Tract "On the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in England."

† See Gazetteer above mentioned, April 18, 1769: advertisement for the apprehension of Jerry Rowland.

‡ From the New-York Journal, October 22, 1767:—"To be sold, for want of employment, a likely, strong, active Negro, &c. &c. Also, a healthy Negro wench, of about twenty-one years old; is a tolerable cook, and capable of doing all sorts of house-work; can be well recommended for her honesty and sobriety; *she has a female child of nigh three years old*, which will be sold *with the wench, if required*," &c.—(Sharp's Tract.)

§ From the Williamsburgh Gazette, in Virginia:—"Run away from the subscriber, in Prince George, on the 10th instant April, a lusty, strong, boney, Negro fellow, named Bob, of a brownish complexion, upwards of six feet high, about fifty years old, bow kneed, and had on a cotton waistcoat and breeches, and an Osnabrug shirt: has a long visage, a Roman nose, and one of his upper fore-teeth is out. He has a wife at Mr. John Nelson's in Louisa, and I imagine he is gone up there, and may be harboured by some of his Negroes. The said fellow is outlawed, and *I will give ten pounds reward for his head severed from his body*, or forty shillings if brought alive. He has been burnt in the hand, and I suppose some evil-disposed person has given him a pass, that he may pass for a freeman.

"JOHN WOODLIFF, SENIOR."

From the North-Carolina Newspaper:—"Run away, last November, from the subscriber, in

The cause of the Negro Slaves had at length found advocates in America, in the Society of Quakers, whose efforts were great and unremitting, but unavailing except among their own body; to whose honour it is recorded, that, after many laudable researches, carried on by individuals, respecting the actual state of the Slaves, a public acknowledgment of the sentiments of the Quakers was made in 1754, declaring, "that to live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity nor Common Justice." Shortly after this declaration, a general emancipation of Slaves belonging to Quakers was agreed on and begun *. But the example of this benevolent sect was more admired than imitated. They seem to have waited for the powerful direction of that associate, whom Providence was now about to unite with them, and whose clear and comprehensive mind arose, like a friendly genius to man, to establish on solid grounds the long-contested, but indefeasible, rights of every creature of God.

In that country, likewise, a great political revolution was preparing, in which the same friend of mankind was destined to plead with less successful result in behalf of mutual amity and reconciliation; though his virtues, as will be seen, were usefully called into action at a later period, in an important establishment of religious worship.

His labours are equally conspicuous in other important points affecting our national character. The continent of Africa, after enduring

Prince George, East River, a Negro fellow, named Zeb, aged thirty-six years. He is about five feet eight inches high; a very good cooper by trade: he is remarkable black, plays on the violin, and has a great deal to say for himself. As he is outlawed, I will pay twenty pounds proclamation money, out of what the Act of Assembly(*a*) allows in such cases, *to any person who shall produce his head severed from his body*, and five pounds proclamation money, if brought home alive. He is suspected to be harboured about Mount Misery.

"JOHN MOSELEY."

* Mr. West, the venerable President of the Royal Academy, informs me, that his father, a Pennsylvanian Quaker, was the first person who liberated his slaves, about twenty years previously to the public declaration.

(*a*) The Act of Assembly allowed a certain sum for every Negro that was killed after having been *outlawed*; which was the penalty of absenting himself from his master's service for the space of three months.

for nearly three centuries the ravages of avarice, owed to him the first foreign settlement of friendly commerce on her shores; and Great Britain claimed, through his arduous struggles, the gratitude of a long-degraded people for the returning dawn of civilization.

At home, many of the distinguished efforts of benevolent and religious societies, in which he will be found to have born a principal part, are wholly of his time. That which finally extorted from sluggish apathy, from power and prejudice, the abolition of the inhuman Slave Trade, stands in the list. The societies themselves either did not exist when his humane and virtuous mind first impelled him forward in the pursuit of public good, or all have derived an increase of strength from his co-operation.

The lives of some men may be contemplated in their opinions and private studies; of others, in their exertions and public concerns. It is rarely that the world beholds the union of unceasing action and unwearied study: still more rarely does it enjoy the sight of such united power devoting itself, at once meekly and resolutely, to the fear of God and the aid of man.

Yet such was the character of GRANVILLE SHARP.

Mr. SHARP* was descended from a family very antiently settled at Bradford-dale, in Yorkshire; and his more immediate predecessors had been distinguished for the same high qualities of which he maintained the lustre in his own example.

During the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, *Thomas Sharp* rose into notice from the particular degree of favour in which he stood with General Lord Fairfax, who held his head-quarters at his house at Bradford, and, among other marks of regard, offered him a commission in the army; but he declined it, preferring to continue in trade. It is unnecessary to say, that he was attached

* The name of *Granville* was derived from Sir Richard Granville, who was Vice-Admiral of England in the reign of Elizabeth. "He reduced Virginia to allegiance, and added it to her Majesty's dominions. He was himself lineally descended from Richard, the third Duke of Normandy."—*Raleigh's Naval Register.*

to the opinions of the Puritans. His infant son, *John*, would have been brought up in the same principles, if the contrary attachment of the mother to the Royalist party had not given a more salutary direction to his mind. At the hazard of Lord Fairfax's displeasure, and eluding all the searches that were made for Common Prayer Books in every house, she had preserved those of her family; and *one of them* she put into the hands of her son, instructing him to love and value it. The boy was particularly moved by reading the Litany; and to this first feeling was soon added a more powerful excitement by the accidental view of his father's secret devotions. Through a chink in the door of an adjoining room, he had perceived him at his private prayers: childish curiosity brought him back frequently to the same place, and he found "something in his father's manner of addressing himself to God in secret, something in the importunate earnestness of his devotions," so forcibly affecting his heart, that the impression was never effaced.

This boy was afterwards the venerable Archbishop of York*.

The disclosure of early talents in the child, probably induced the father to devote him to learned pursuits. At the age of sixteen, with no other helps to literature than he had gained at the grammar-school of his native town at Bradford, John was admitted of Christ's-Church College, Cambridge, under the care of a faithful and enlightened tutor, whose diligent services he gratefully recompensed on his first advancement in the church†.

In the course of his college studies, the intenseness of his application brought on an illness, which terminated in hypochondriac melancholy, and, to rouse himself from this benumbing malady, he left the

* He retained his affection for the *Litany* through life, "judging it," as he said, "*as to the matter*, extremely well suited to the wants of mankind; and, *as to the manner of it*, exceedingly well contrived for the helping our infirmities in prayer."

† This was the Rev. Mr. Brooksbank, who, through the application of his pupil, then Archdeacon of Berks, obtained from the Chancellor the living of St. Mary's in Reading. Dr. Sharp offered to resign the archdeaconry in favour of his old master, to which the Chancellor would not consent, but added to his gift one of the prebends of Salisbury.

university for a short time; after which, having succeeded in regaining his health, he returned, to commence his studies in divinity*.

His great attention to the church service procured him an unsolicited Living, and his excellent character the situation of Tutor and Domestic Chaplain in the family of Sir Heneage Finch, Solicitor General. He was admitted into Holy Orders in 1667, and ordained Deacon and Priest in the same day by a particular dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In Sir Heneage's family he had the care of four youths, two of whom, afterwards, entering the church, were made by him dignitaries of the cathedral of York.

He was scarcely twenty-eight years of age, when his patron (now made Attorney-General) informed him that the King had conferred on him the Archdeaconry of Berkshire. Sharp replied, that "he was too young and ignorant, and he wished to decline the preferment;" but the Attorney-General would not accept the excuse, and furnished him with all requisites for taking immediate possession.

Sir Heneage, (created a Peer in 1674, and) succeeding to the Chancellorship of England in 1675, soon placed his chaplain in a more conspicuous point of view, by entrusting to him the entire charge of recommending persons properly qualified to take the numerous preferments in his gift. This arduous task he executed in so exemplary a manner, that no preferment passed through his hands, that was not bestowed on some one of the most learned and virtuous men of the time†. Three gifts only the Chancellor reserved for his own

* To unbend his mind from severer studies, he commenced a collection of medals; which he afterwards so improved and enlarged, that it was inferior to few in England, particularly in regard of the Saxon and English coins. The collection has been further augmented by his descendants.

† His conduct in this respect was uniform through life. "During a part of King Charles's reign, as well as in that of King William (by being joined in an extraordinary commission with some other bishops to recommend fit persons to crown-preferments), and also in the reign of Queen Anne, through the respect the Queen paid to his recommendation, he became instrumental in promoting some of the most shining lights in literature that the age in which he lived, or perhaps any other age, ever produced; Archbishop Tillotson, who was made Dean of Canterbury (his first preferment) by his recommendation; Bishops Bull and Beveridge, whose learned and truly pious publications will ever do honour to their names; Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, author of the 'Connection between the Old and New Testament;'

disposal, and those he conferred on Mr. Sharp himself. Among them was the rectory of St. Giles's, which became his residence for sixteen years, and where he was revered as a minister, who zealously and faithfully discharged all the duties of his office, but particularly those most important ones of catechising the youth and comforting the sick. In the performance of the latter duty he bore an equal share with his curates, visiting the poor in the meanest garrets and cellars, and never refusing his personal attendance, wherever it was required*.

In 1679 he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and in 1681 was promoted to the Deanery of Norwich.

In 1686 he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to James the Second, and continued so till the Revolution; though the manner in which he spoke of the Church of Rome, in the pulpit, was so little agreeable to this monarch, that the Bishop of London (Dr. Compton) was advised to suspend him; but he refused, and, after a short time, Dr. Sharp was restored to the King's favour.

The Revolution which took place, did not, in any manner, alter the steady tenour of his conduct. With the same independence

Dr. Bentley, the learned Master of Trinity College; Dr. Potter, highly esteemed for his Greek Antiquities and other works of learning, and afterwards eminent as Archbishop of Canterbury; the worthy and amiable Sir William Dawes, who, by Dr. Sharp's particular recommendation to the Queen just before he died, succeeded him as Archbishop of York; the learned Dr. Mill; Dr. Hales, eminent afterwards as a philosopher; and Dr. Grube, a learned Prussian divine. Many other pious and worthy men were preferred by his means, but the above were the most eminent."—*Letter from Granville Sharp to Dr. Witherspoon*, 1764.

* "His compliance herein put him sometimes in hazard of his life. Once, when he was called, by two unknown gentlemen, to an unknown place, on pretence of visiting a dying friend, and not without suspicions of some treacherous design upon himself—(for it was a particular time in King James's reign, when he had grounds for such a distrust)—he nevertheless ventured with them, only taking with him the guard of a servant, which was not usual with him, and ordering him to stand in the street before the house whither he was carried, and not to stir from thence upon any account whatever, till he saw him come out of the house again. (This indeed was Mrs. Sharp's advice and precaution.) And it had this effect, that when the design of the servant's attendance in the street was observed, by his utterly refusing to enter the house, the Rector, after waiting some time, was told that the stranger patient was then taking rest, and could not conveniently be disturbed; and so he was dismissed, and never heard afterwards either of the patient or his friends."

MS. Life of Archbishop Sharp, by his Son, Dr. Thomas Sharp.

with which he had censured the Romish religion before James, he prayed for that monarch before the Prince of Orange, on the first Sunday after the opening of the Convention, and also before the House of Commons, on the Wednesday following; considering, that, though the vote of abdication had passed that House, it had not yet received the concurrence of the Lords, and that the Service of the Church had not yet been altered by any due authority.

In 1689, he was farther promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury, and was named by King William one of the persons appointed to fill the sees vacant by the deprivation of their bishops. But in this latter point he unexpectedly declined obedience, on account of the dispossessed bishops being still alive, and his unwillingness to remove to any of those honourable situations under such circumstances. He requested, therefore, to remain in his own humbler station. But the strong friendship of Dr. Tillotson (then nominated for Archbishop of Canterbury), and his interest with the King, prevailed in reconciling the feelings of all parties. He represented to Dr. Sharp, that the King was offended at his refusal of a bishoprick, and that the only measure which could restore him to favour, would be, that of consenting to accept the Archbishoprick of York, whenever it should become vacant. This point he carried, and then obtained from William the order for the succession. About a week afterwards, the Archbishop of York (Lamplugh) died, and the two friends, Tillotson and Sharp, received their archiepiscopal consecration nearly at the same period. Dr. Sharp took the most affectionate leave of his parishioners in St. Giles's.

He was in his forty-seventh year when he was advanced to the see of York, and he sate in it two-and-twenty years.

His life as an Archbishop is too important in history, to admit of adequate mention in this place. His constancy and integrity, his learning and piety, his disinterested zeal and loyalty, secured to him the favour of William, and made him the confidential friend of Anne to the last hour of his life.

After the virtuous fulfilment of a long course of exemplary and painful duties, he died at Bath, Feb. 2, 1713-14; and was succeeded in

his high dignity by the person whom he had himself recommended to the Queen.

His character was drawn, with less of eloquence than of feeling, in a sermon, preached at York on his decease, by the Rev. John Blower, a prebendary of that cathedral *. The epitaph engraved on his

* Some particulars of the Archbishop's character here described bear so strongly on that of Mr. Granville Sharp, that they will, perhaps, be found worthy of reference.—

" Though he did not, upon several occasions, concur in his judgment, nor come into the same measures, with some eminent persons, both in church and state, yet he was never disunited from them in affection by a contrariety of sentiments.

" I can truly assert, that he was as hearty a well-wisher to the peace and prosperity both of the church and kingdom, and to the happiness of all mankind, as any one living; and as ready to promote these blessings according to his power; but he did not imagine that a zeal for the best things, or the most laudable aversion to all erroneous opinions, could sanctify any uncharitable animosity against the persons of men.

" Never was any man, as well by the tenderness of his nature as by the impulse of religion, better disposed to succour the distressed, and relieve the necessities of the poor; to which merciful offices he had so strong an inclination, that no reasonable solicitations were ever in danger of meeting with a repulse. Nay, he was more prone to seek out proper objects of his bounty, than to reject them when recommended; and so far was his charity from any suspicion of being extorted by importunity, that it appeared rather a delight than uneasiness to him to extend his liberality upon all proper occasions."

Discourse delivered in the Cathedral Church of York, Feb. 14, 1713-14.

For the same reason, a singular anecdote of the Archbishop, related in the London Chronicle of Aug. 13, 1785. and always credited by his family, may be thought worth preserving.

" It was his Lordship's custom to have a saddle-horse attend his carriage, that, in case of fatigue from sitting, he might take the refreshment of a ride. As he was thus going to his episcopal residence, and was got a mile or two before his carriage, a decent, well-looking young man came up to him, and with a trembling hand and faltering tongue, presenting a pistol to his Lordship's breast, demanded his money. The Archbishop with great composure turned about, and, looking stedfastly at him, desired he would remove that dangerous weapon, and tell him fairly his condition. ' Sir! Sir!' with great agitation, cried the youth: ' No words—'tis not a time—your money instantly.'—' Hear me, young man,' said the Archbishop. You see I am a very old man, and my life is of very little consequence; yours seems far otherwise. I am named Sharp, and am Archbishop of York; my carriage and servants are behind; tell me what money you want, and who you are, and I'll not injure you, but prove a friend. Here, take this—and now ingenuously tell me how much you want to make you independent of so destructive a business as you are now engaged in.' ' O Sir!' replied the man, ' I detest the business as much as you. I am—But—but—at home there are creditors who will not stay—Fifty pounds, my Lord, indeed would do what no tongue besides my own can tell.'—' Well, Sir, I take it on your word: and, upon my honour, if you will, in a day or two, call on me at ———, what I have now given shall be made up that sum.'—The highwayman looked at him, was silent, and went off; and at the time appointed actually waited on the Archbishop, and assured his Lordship his words had left impressions which nothing could ever destroy.

" Nothing more transpired for a year and a half, or more; when one morning a person

monument, was written by Dr. Smallridge, afterwards Bishop of Bristol*.

The Archbishop was born in 1644, and, at the age of thirty-three, married a daughter of William Palmer, Esq., of Winthorp, in Lincolnshire—a lady of an eminently virtuous disposition. Several children were the fruit of this marriage.

Thomas, his youngest son†, and father of the subject of the present Memoirs, was made Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1722. No less distinguished than the Archbishop had been, for integrity, piety, and a conscientious discharge of his duty, he was indefatigable in making himself acquainted with every clergyman in his province, and with the circumstances of their respective cures; so that not a curate nor a schoolmaster was appointed without his sanction. All petitions, all cases of difficulty, every particular relative to church duties or parochial affairs, were referred to him, and never failed to receive an immediate and most scrupulous attention.

As a mediator and peace-maker, he was consulted alike by the rich and poor.

knocked at his Grace's gate, and with a peculiar earnestness desired to see him. The Archbishop ordered the stranger to be brought in. He entered the room where his Lordship was, but had scarce advanced a few steps before his countenance changed, his knees tottered, and he sank almost breathless on the floor. On recovering, he requested an audience in private. The apartment being cleared, 'My Lord,' said he, 'you cannot have forgotten the circumstances at such a time and place; gratitude will never suffer them to be obliterated from my mind. In me, my Lord, you now behold that once most wretched of mankind; but now, by your inexpressible humanity, rendered equal, perhaps superior, in happiness to millions. Oh, my Lord,' (tears for a while preventing his utterance) ''tis you, 'tis you, that have saved me body and soul; 'tis you that have saved a dear and much-loved wife, and a little brood of children, whom I tendered dearer than my life. Here are the fifty pounds; but never shall I find language to testify what I feel. Your God is your witness; your deed itself is your glory; and may heaven, and all its blessings, be your present and everlasting reward!—I was the younger son of a wealthy man; your Lordship knows him: his name was ————. My marriage alienated his affection, and my brother withdrew his love, and left me to sorrow and penury. A month since my brother died a bachelor, and intestate. What was his, is become mine; and, by your astonishing goodness, I am now at once the most penitent, the most grateful, and happiest of my species.'"

* The character of this excellent prelate is likewise ably drawn, at the end of *Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne*, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 64.

† Born, December 12, 1693.

His charities were extensive and useful. "My father," says Granville (in a letter to a friend in 1793), "was Rector of an extensive "parish, Rothbury, in the county of Northumberland, and retained at "his own expense five, if not more, different schools in the villages, "at convenient distances, for the instruction of poor children whose "parents could not afford to send them to school. The children in "all these schools were taught writing and arithmetic, as well as "reading; so that, in a long course of years, there were few to be "found in the parish who could not write, if not retain also some "knowledge of figures: and no people could be more remarkable "for industrious exertion in the most humble labour, and at the same "time for modesty and good behaviour, than the parishioners of Roth-"bury in general. The children of Roman Catholics, and of all "other sects, were equally admitted to the benefit of the schools; "and very strict care was taken not to give any offence to them, or "their parents, about the difference of religious opinions*."

His writings are very numerous†. Among the most valuable is a MS. Narrative of his Father, the Archbishop,'s Life, both public and private, together with a collection of many of his letters, and other papers—a work which, whenever it shall be published, will form an important addition to the annals of English biography‡.

* Rothbury, in the diocese of Durham, was his first preferment. He was also a Prebendary of York, of the collegiate church of Southwell, and, finally, of Durham. He resided by turns at Durham and Rothbury, and, every third year, passed three months at Southwell; during which time, with virtuous munificence, he regularly expended the whole of the three years' revenues arising from his prebendal stall at that place, in acts of hospitality and charity.

† His printed works, in 6 vols. 8vo. are deposited in the episcopal library at Durham, together with two manuscripts relative to the history of the Cathedral and its principal Dignitaries, from the year 635 to his own time.

‡ The anecdotes above related of the Archbishop are taken from this manuscript.

I shall add the character of the writer, as farther given in a marginal note, by his son Granville, in one of the works above mentioned.—

"The candour, judgment, and learning of this author are shewn in such of his works as are already printed, and particularly in the Hebrew controversy, wherein he so happily succeeded against the followers of Mr. Hutchinson. He was remarkable for his great sagacity and discernment as a critic. Of his thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, he has left a lasting monument to posterity, in his 'Discourses on the Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England, so far as they relate to the Parochial Clergy.'"

He married Judith, youngest daughter of Sir George Wheler, a prebend of Durham, and died in 1758, having been the father of a numerous offspring, of whom five sons and three daughters arrived at maturity.

Of so large a family, the limits of a biographical work, devoted to a single eminent character, necessarily restrict the measure even of the most merited notice; but adorned, as the several individuals were, by qualities which form the Citizen, and describe the Christian, it would be injurious to pass their names in silence. The characters of the greater part are too strongly marked, to want the interest which biography demands.

The eldest son, *John*, who succeeded to his father's principal dignities in the church*, stands distinguished in the records of British humanity at Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland,—a place where many circumstances have contributed to produce a charitable asylum unparalleled in our (or, probably, in any other) island.

The castle, now devoted to purposes of most singular benevolence, is situated on an almost perpendicular rock, close to the sea, and accessible only on the south-east side; on a spot, where (according to the monkish historians) once stood the palace of the kings of Northumberland, built by Ida, about the year 560; and parts of the present ruins are supposed to be the remains of his work. The rock on which it is placed, is one hundred and fifty feet above low-water mark, and, after the structure had fallen to decay, was famous only for the wreck of vessels, and the helpless cry of forlorn mariners thrown on the coast. Some partial repairs had been undertaken, for the purpose of holding the manor courts, and of forming a temporary dwelling for a religious minister within the castle, when the view of its stately remains of antient grandeur, and of the distress and

* As Prebendary of Durham, and Archdeacon of Northumberland. He was also Vicar of Hartburn, and Curate to the perpetual curacy of Bamburgh.

danger which surrounded them, suggested to Dr. Sharp more enlarged designs, and ideas of relief proportionate to the magnitude of the occasion. On his succeeding his father as one of the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charity*, plans were laid down, and preparations made, for roofing and clearing out the great tower or keep, and adapting its spacious contents to the service of several charitable establishments. The upper story of the tower was formed into granaries, whence in times of scarcity corn was distributed to the indigent, without distinction, at a low price; the lower story was divided into rooms for the manor-courts, schools for educating the children of the poor, a hospital (with accommodation also for incurables), a dispensary, and a general surgery, with cold and warm baths for poor persons of all descriptions.

In the course of the former repairs, in sinking the floor of a cellar, a curious draw-well had accidentally been found, one hundred and forty-five feet in depth, cut through the solid rock; and at another part the remains of a chapel were discovered, one hundred feet in length†: both were now rendered useful to the purposes of the charity.

* The castle is said to have been in good repair at the time of the Conquest, when it had, in all likelihood, some additions made to its works; and in the time of Henry the Second great repairs were also made, and other parts added. The keep, or great tower, was perhaps built at that time.

The castle remained in the Crown until the 10th of Elizabeth, when the Queen appointed Sir John Foster, of Bamburgh Abbey, Governor of it; and his grandson afterwards had a grant of it, together with the manor; but one of his descendants (Thomas Foster, of Ethelstone), engaging in the Rebellion, in 1715, his estates, including the castle, were confiscated. They were afterwards purchased by his uncle, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who died 1722, having devised considerable estates in the counties of Durham and Northumberland to five Trustees, charged, in the first place, with the annual payment of some noble and well-known benefactions, (to the University of Oxford, and to Lincoln College, of which he had been Rector; and for the augmentation of Livings, and the institution of Schools and Alms-Houses, and other beneficent purposes, in the several counties and parishes with which he had been connected), and the residue being made applicable to any charitable use or uses, which the Trustees should from time to time appoint and direct. This surplus was accordingly applied to various purposes of charity, as occasion offered, but without any regular or permanent system, till Dr. Sharp took the management of the trust, more than thirty years after the testator's decease.

† The chapel was found by throwing over the bank a vast quantity of sand, which had been washed in, and had greatly accumulated in length of time. The chancel of the chapel

But the protection of the mariner who navigates along this dangerous coast, was the peculiar object of the establishment. For his sake a constant watch was set at the top of the tower; and when any ship was discovered in distress, signals were made, to direct the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to hasten to its assistance. If the vessel suffered distress in the adjacent Fern Islands, or Staples, a flag was hoisted, guns fired morning and evening, and a rocket sent up every night, that the sufferers might know that they were perceived from the shore, and that efforts were making for their relief. Signals were also made to the fishermen of Holy Island, who, from their situation, are able to put off their boats, when none from the main land can pass the breakers; and premiums were assigned to those who should get the start in conveying succour. In foggy weather, a bell sounding from the tower, and a gun fired every quarter of an hour, were signals to the same effect.

In every violent storm, two men on horseback patroled the coast from sun-rise to sun-set; one of whom, in case of any shipwreck, returned to give alarm at the castle; and premiums were paid to any one who brought the earliest intelligence.

Within the castle, thirty beds were kept, well-aired, and in constant readiness to receive the sailors who escaped the storm, and who here found a store-house for depositing in security whatever might be saved from the wreck; and tools, timber, cables—and, in short, all that could be wanted for the repair of vessels—ready for their use.

The bodies of such as were cast lifeless on shore, were decently interred*.

is thirty-six feet long, and twenty in breadth; the east end (according to the Saxon fashion) semicircular. The altar stood in the centre of the semicircle, with a walk round it, three feet broad, for the priest to carry the Host in procession. The front, richly carved, is still remaining.

* Mr. Granville Sharp, in a letter to the Marquis of Lansdown (1792), gives the following particulars of the charity.—

" The Account of Bamborough Castle, printed some years ago, contains but a very small part of the charities now in the establishment at that place. There is a medical dispensary, where many hundred sick and wounded persons every year receive advice and assistance. A large Saxon hall has been repaired and roofed as a school, wherein about 120 children are instructed;

All these beneficent plans were, in the first instance, carried into execution with the utmost zeal and promptitude under Dr. Sharp's direction, and were conducted by him with equal attention and indefatigable perseverance for more than thirty years, to the time of his decease*. He resided in Bamburgh Castle several months in every year, anxiously superintending every part of the management; and, in order to encourage his successors to continue the good work, he not only expended a large part of his own property in his life-time on the improvements and accommodations of the place†, but at his death bequeathed to the Trustees his furniture, and his large and valuable library, besides a freehold estate, and a considerable sum of money to be vested in the funds, for the perpetual repair of the great tower or keep, which he had himself occupied, and now proposed for their dwelling and use.

He died 28th April, 1792, "leaving," says Granville, "so ample a remembrance of his worth as to need no farther description."

Thomas, the second son, an accomplished scholar, and an exemplary parish priest‡, greatly assisted his brother in establishing the charities of Bamburgh. He died in the prime of life.

The two next sons, *William* and *James*, raised themselves by talents and industry; the one to professional eminence, and both to affluence.

To the memory of the former, while I pay the tribute of duty as a biographer, let me be allowed to add that of affection as a friend, and to express the grateful reverence with which I call him to

and an old Saxon chapel has been rebuilt on the ancient site; and both of them renewed as nearly as possible in the original style. Granaries are formed in the castle for corn, which is sold to the poor at an under price; and hand-mills are placed in the castle, that they may grind for themselves."

* A very interesting letter, written by himself, in which he gives a full detail of these charitable exertions, is preserved in Mr. Nichols's Biographical Anecdotes.—(See Letter *S*.)

† Dr. Sharp seems to have taken pains to conceal the sums expended on the charity by himself; but the whole amount was probably little less than ten thousand pounds.

‡ He was Rector of St. Bartholomew the Less in London, and Perpetual Curate of the curacy of Bamburgh.

remembrance; happy, beyond my hope, if any record that I am able to offer, can repay a portion of the debt due to that almost parental care, which his heart, overflowing with kindness, prompted him to extend to all. The view of his character, in comparison with that of *Granville*—a view so often and forcibly impressed on my observation during a long intercourse with the family — may in some degree serve to elucidate both.

When you addressed yourself to *William*, you waked at once the attention of a benevolent and affectionate spirit, that anxiously bent towards you, with the desire of contributing instantly to your relief; of one who felt, no less than the sufferer, the pain he witnessed; who strove to sooth the irksome sense of human infirmity, and to reconcile the afflicted to themselves. His looks spoke the compassion of his heart, and his presence brought comfort, even (though that was rare) where his skill failed to afford relief.—In *Granville*, benevolence and charity were not less prominently conspicuous, but they appeared divested of that keenness of sensibility which so quickly and irresistibly endeared the character of William. Granville's benevolence was pure and complacent, without anxiety,—without other emotion than that of an upright and generous spirit, steadily and actively discharging his Maker's commission. The expression of his sentiments was wholly free from disguise. Although his habitual charity of mind taught him to love the man whose opinion he chastised, he did not palliate error, nor veil the severest truth: what he spoke, you might at all times be sure was from the consent of his whole heart; all was simple, all was sterling.—Such were the nice features of distinction, in two men eminently united in every amiable and friendly quality, eminently pure, religious, charitable, and useful to mankind.

William's profession was surgery, which he practised, with unremitting assiduity and the highest reputation, for a course of thirty-seven years, until a most severe and all but mortal attack of illness, attended with the loss of sight in one eye, compelled him to relinquish it*.

* *Memorandum left on a slip of paper by G. Sharp.*—"*William Sharp*, the sixth son and seventh child, born at Whitton Tower, Rothbury, 1728-9, March 12th; married Sept. 5th,

During the whole of his professional attendance, he was known never to have consented to the amputation of a limb, until every effort to preserve it had been exhausted; and, in that case, his concern for human sufferings was such, that the previous agitation of his countenance never failed to announce the impending operation to his family. Such, too, was the benignity of his professional feelings, that once, while relating the progress of his early life, being asked if he had at the outset any powerful rival, he simply replied, "*I was never the rival of any man.*"

He extended his charities around him in every manner; relieving the sick and indigent, assisting the willing, and encouraging, with a fostering hand that never withdrew its protection, the advance of youthful talents and industry, wherever they came within his sphere.

His house appeared the chosen residence of domestic peace and love. In it was assembled, every evening, the numerous band of brothers and sisters, knit in the union of Christian charity. No sight could be more affecting, more endearing. Alas!—if we may sigh for those who rest in bliss—of all who formed that happy circle, two alone remain! the widow of James, and his daughter, to whom the reader owes the present accurate collection of important documents.

His death, in advanced and declining age, is said to have been hastened by excessive alarm at the unexpectedly rapid approach of his only child's mortal dissolution. Severe indeed must have been a parent's presage of such a loss! The loss of one who was lovely in mind and exemplary in conduct; a long-enduring lesson of meekness, patient suffering, and resignation to the Divine Will!*

1765, to Catherine, fifth daughter of Thomas Barwick, of Friday Street. They had only one child born alive, Mary, born 19th of April, 1778. He was most eminent in his profession as a surgeon in London, during the time he practised for himself, from 1750 to 1787; and having acquired a handsome fortune, retired to Fulham."

* I wish to refer the reader, for a fuller account of Mr. William Sharp, to the funeral sermon, preached on occasion of his death, by the Rev. John Owen, of Fulham, March 25, 1810. I shall extract from it an anecdote of singular interest.—

Mr. Owen, after describing, with his natural eloquence, the *demeanour* of Mr. Sharp during the Church Service, proceeds thus:—"But to view this part of his portrait complete, we must meet him

The name of *James* will occasionally be found in the following Memoirs, in his united action with Granville. His unshaken integrity gave him great influence in the city, where he carried on an extensive business as an ironmonger. His inventive genius, and knowledge of mechanics, rendered his efforts in trade more than commonly useful and beneficial. To him, chiefly, this kingdom is indebted for the establishment of its inland navigation*. His house, like that of William, was the general home of the family; nor did he possess in a less eminent degree those affections of the heart which render home delightful.

Of Dr. Sharp's daughters, the virtues were domestic and exemplary.

I will not believe that England is deficient in other circles of domestic life, in which as many useful, virtuous, and endearing qualities are concentrated, as in the family whose shadows I am now tracing; but it is the lot of few to know them intimately. I have enjoyed a blessing of that kind, and my heart is grateful for it; and, while it indulges the remembrance of so much excellence, kindred minds shall, as I hope, be roused to emulation by these records, and chiefly by the memorial of him whose history I now proceed to detail, in the confidence of adding to the moral and religious

at the altar, and see him kneeling to receive the pledges he so dearly valued of his Saviour's love. At this table, spread by the Lord of glory, and covered with more than angels' food, he was a constant and a thankful guest. So highly did he deem the obligation and the benefit of this peculiarly Christian ordinance, that he lost no opportunity of celebrating it himself, and took no common pains to bring all the members of his household to be partakers with him. On one occasion, an occasion which will be ever fresh in the memory of myself and those who witnessed it, he lingered, contrary to his general custom, behind the body of communicants. At length he approached the altar; but it was in company with a livery servant, newly received into his employment, and whose devotions he had been guiding during the progress of the service. With a tenderness and humility, seldom perhaps equalled, he made his servant kneel before he would advance; and then, servant and master, on their bended knees beside each other, and in the presence of God and of the congregation, ate the same spiritual meat and drank the same spiritual drink, as equally the objects of acceptance and mercy with Him who is no respecter of persons."

* "He distinguished himself by his zeal in projecting and promoting a scheme for a navigable canal from Waltham Abbey to Moorfields."—*Nichols's Anecdotes.*

treasures of the world, if my task shall be duly fulfilled. The example of a good man is an inheritance to ages; and it will be my endeavour to give an unbiassed and faithful narrative, such as will best suit the tenour of his simple and sincere course—with the recollection that I should offend the memory of a sainted spirit, if I should exaggerate the fair and real merit of his actions; yet remembering also, that to extenuate it, even in a single point, would be to desert the cause of truth, and to defraud virtue of one of its just incentives to social action.

The character which I shall have to delineate is of the highest order; but it is also the most plain and easy to be understood, as it was always shewn without artifice or disguise. It is that of a man who, gifted with rare endowments, and led by the disposing hand of Providence to good, found his heart irresistibly directed to the relief of unmerited sufferings, his reason aroused to the reproof of pernicious errors, and his whole soul filled with the desire of universal human happiness. To the advancement of these sublime purposes he moved forward by a clew that admitted of no mistake, and that could not be broken. Intimately convinced of the divine origin of the Scriptures, and of their containing the only certain grounds of our temporal and eternal welfare, he resolutely applied the whole faculties of his understanding, and bent the whole vigour of his mind, to search with accuracy their strict and unquestionable meaning. The languages in which they have been delivered to us, were made the objects of his profound inquiry, and he became one of the ablest interpreters of them, that has appeared even to the present day.

Having thus endeavoured to render himself master of the real intent of the Sacred Precepts, he took them unalterably for his guides: he proposed them as a rule of conduct on all occasions, and he rigidly adhered to them in all his actions. To the same high tribunal, also, he referred all the reasonings and actions of other men; and the distinctions of season, power, place, and rank, sunk before it into comparative insignificance. This is the true light in which he is to

be viewed in every part of his long life, and in which he will be uniformly seen through the whole of this Narrative. There is no moment of instability in his rule of duty, none of inconsistency in his practice. Like the Great Teacher whose lessons he humbly strove to obey, he pitied, respected, and loved mankind; but he condemned their errors, and reproved, in the hope to reform and save.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART I.

HIS EDUCATION—SITUATION IN EARLY LIFE—DEVELOPMENT OF GENERAL PHILANTHROPY — LIBERATION OF AFRICAN SLAVES IN ENGLAND — HIS UNION WITH AMERICAN COLONISTS IN FAVOUR OF AFRICAN SLAVES—CONSEQUENCES OF THAT UNION.—HIS WRITINGS, TILL THE YEAR 1776.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

GRANVILLE SHARP was born at Durham, on the 10th of November 1735, O. S. A large part of his father's fortune had been expended on the education of the two elder sons. The portions of the others were equally divided, and applied to their advancement in their respective occupations; that of the youngest being set apart to serve as an apprentice-fee in London, where it was his father's intention to place him in trade. With a view to this destination, he was at a very early age withdrawn from the public grammar-school at Durham, before he had gained more than the first rudiments of the learned languages, and was sent to a smaller school, to be instructed more particularly in writing and arithmetic.

In the spring of the year 1750 he left Durham, and in May was bound apprentice, in London, to a linen-draper of the name of Halsey, a Quaker, on Great Tower Hill; who dying in 1753, he remained, under the same indentures, with Halsey's father-in-law and executor, Henry Willoughby, Esq., a justice of the peace, and a Presbyterian. In 1755 he was discharged by judgment of the Lord Mayor's court (in order to serve out the remainder of his term with

another freeman of Halsey's company), but the judgment being reversed in the same year, he continued to reside with Willoughby till the following summer, when he obtained his consent to go into employ in the house of Bourke (a Roman Catholic) and Co., Irish factors, in Cheapside.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship he quitted his situation, and immediately engaged himself in the service of another linen-factory, which he had reason to suppose established on a large foundation; but finding the concern far more contracted than he had imagined, he soon relinquished his engagement.

To these circumstances, apparently of little importance, his own reflecting mind has given an unexpected interest. In this early stage of his life were laid the foundations of that equal temper, with which he was enabled to enter into argument with all who differed from him in religious opinions. "Though my father," he says*, "was a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, and brought me up in the public profession of that church, yet he was so far from being prejudiced against any man for being of a different persuasion from himself, that he did not scruple to bind me as an apprentice to a Quaker, at the distance of nearly three hundred miles from home, though I was of so tender an age that I could not be supposed capable of discerning the propriety or impropriety of any difficult argument that might be thrown in my way, and, consequently, was liable to receive prejudices of education even in favour of Quakerism.

"After I had served about three years of my apprenticeship, my master the Quaker died, and I was turned over to a Presbyterian, or rather, as he was more properly called, an Independent. I afterward lived some time with an Irish Papist, and also with another person, who, I believe, had no religion at all.

"This short history" of himself, he adds, may serve to "remove any suspicion of" his "being influenced by prejudice of education against any particular sect;" and he grounds on it a rule of

* Letter to Dr. Fothergill, Aug. 1770.

conduct which cannot be too warmly recommended to our notice; —" This extraordinary experience," he says, " has taught me to make a proper distinction between the OPINIONS of men and their PERSONS. The former I can freely condemn, without presuming to judge the individuals themselves. Thus freedom of argument is preserved, as well as Christian charity, leaving personal judgment to Him to whom alone it belongs."

In this period he made his first advances in learning. A series of controversies with an inmate of his master's house, who happened to be a Socinian, first excited him to the study of the Greek tongue. They disputed concerning the Trinity, and the Atonement of Christ; and on these topics the Socinian declared, that Granville was mistaken in the opinions which he uttered, and that his misconception arose from his want of acquaintance with the Greek language, " in which," he asserted, " the subjects of their dispute did not suffer the interpretation which he put on them, and he therefore referred him to the New Testament in its original text."

He learned Hebrew nearly at the same time, and from a cause exactly similar. A Jew, who appears to have resided also in his master's house, frequently contested with him the truths of the Christian religion, and, when hard pressed by his earnest reasonings, constantly declared that he misinterpreted the prophecies, from ignorance of the language in which they were written; referring him to the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as the Socinian had done to the Greek Testament.

To be ignorant of the truth, was, to his ardent mind, a source of inexpressible pain; to neglect the means of acquiring a knowledge of it, insupportable disgrace. The diligence of his inquiries kept pace with the acuteness of his feelings.

A disposition to beneficence also manifested itself in these early years of his life. Justice Willoughby had formerly followed various occupations in trade, from which he had finally retired. He very soon began to take great notice of young Granville, who, in return, after two or three years' residence in Halsey's house, discovering that

his friend had a rightful claim to the title of Baron de Parham, devised the only method in his power to promote it. His relation, Dr. Dering, was chaplain to the Earl of Winchelsea, the descendant of Archbishop Sharp's great patron, the Lord Chancellor Finch. To him Granville made a report of the circumstances; and his Lordship, being by these means apprized of them, caused Willoughby's claim to be laid duly before Parliament, and procured his admission to the House of Peers, where he sate for the remaining years of his life*.

Mr. Sharp took up his freedom of the city, in the Company of Fishmongers, in August 1757.

In the same year he received the afflicting news of his mother's death, and, in the spring of the year following, his father's also. On both these occasions he hastened to his family in the North; and in the latter visit he remained some time, in order to assist his brothers and sisters in the various removals that ensued; and finally returned to London, bringing with him two of his sisters.

The reasons that induced him to abandon the track of business in which he had been twice engaged, are now unknown. The death of his father, however, left his choice at liberty; and in June 1758 he obtained a subordinate appointment in the Ordnance office.

From that date to the year 1764 there are few notices concerning the employment of his time—his office necessarily engaged the greatest portion of it;—but it is certain that in this interval he completed those acquisitions in the sacred languages, which enabled him afterwards to maintain the extraordinary part that he assumed in society. His hours of study were snatched from sleep, and some hints of the eagerness with which he pursued his researches are found in his letters.

In the March quarter of the year 1764 he was appointed a Clerk in ordinary, and removed to the Minuting Branch.

* The title was adjudged to him (in consequence of the decease of Hugh, fifteenth Lord Willoughby de Parham) in the sixth Session of the twelfth Parliament of Great Britain, and he took his seat accordingly, April 25, 1767. He died in 1775, aged seventy-nine."

Collins's Peerage.

It was very soon after the date of this appointment that the singularity of his character began to unfold itself. In 1765, he unexpectedly engaged in a literary controversy with Dr. Kennicott (the learned publisher of the Hebrew Bible), which involved a contest for superior accuracy in Hebrew literature and Biblical learning, and which he conducted with no inconsiderable credit to his abilities*. Some other tracts also appeared from his pen, tending to promote the general interests of society.

Nearly at the same time, chance directed his attention towards the sufferings of a race of men who had long been the sport and victims of European avarice. In the first moments of his action, he had no other object in view than the relief of a miserable fellow-creature, struggling with disease and extreme indigence; but such was then, under Heaven, the widely increasing spirit of social charity, that England was destined shortly to behold (and to be herself the scene of the extraordinary spectacle) a private and powerless individual standing forth, at the divine excitement of Mercy, to rescue those whom the force of disgraceful custom injuriously bound in chains;—to see him, when opposed in his benevolent efforts, arm himself, by the study of our laws, to assert the unalterable course of justice, and for that end prepare to resist the formidable decisions of men who had filled the highest stations in our courts of judicature; maintaining his ground against them with unanswerable arguments, and finally overthrowing the influence of authoritative, but unjust, opinions — an event not more glorious to the individual himself, than to our country's constitution, of which it demonstrated the mild and liberal spirit, friendly to every consideration that can be suggested for the benefit of mankind.

Mr. Sharp's papers, fortunately, afford the most accurate notices of these singular transactions from their commencement. They are described in his usual clear and unaffected manner; and as the plainest truth is the greatest ornament of historical relation, the

* The reader will find an account of this controversy in its proper place.

whole of his manuscript notes will be copied as occasion requires, and collected in the course of the following narrative. The reader has only to observe, that the parts so transcribed will be regularly distinguished by the prefatory capitals MS.; under which, both in the present and other parts of these Memoirs, Mr. Sharp will be left to relate his own history.

He gives the account of an AFRICAN, of the name of Jonathan Strong, whose pitiable case furnished the first opportunity of trying a cause as important to humanity in general as to the just renown of our English charter.

The professional arrangements of Mr. William Sharp, whose house was open every morning for the gratuitous relief of the poor, were the first means of bringing Strong to the knowledge of either brother. Pain and disease, the consequence of severe blows and hardships, led the miserable sufferer to seek the aid of medical attendance; and it was in one of his morning visits to the surgery in Mincing Lane that he was met by Granville, as he approached the door of the house, ready to faint through extreme weakness. On inquiry, it was found that he had been a Slave of Mr. David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, whose barbarous treatment had by degrees reduced him to a state of uselessness, and whose brutal heart had then turned him adrift in the streets*. This happened in 1765.

By the united care of the two brothers, into whose hands Strong had providentially fallen, he was restored to health†, and placed

* It appeared in the course of the legal examinations which ensued, that Strong's master, Lisle, had beaten him violently on the head with a pistol, which made his head swell very greatly, and, when the swelling abated, a disorder fell on his eyes, which nearly occasioned the loss of his sight. This was followed by an ague, fever, and lameness in both feet, in which miserable condition he came to the surgery for relief.

The minutes of this case, as well as of the succeeding Negro causes, were taken down in short-hand by Mr. Sharp's orders. Copies of them in full are preserved in the apartments of the African Institution.

† "Mr. William Sharp gave him admission to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he was cured of his general complaints, but the return of his sight remained very doubtful. This affliction rendering him still incapable of providing for himself, both Mr. William and Mr. Granville Sharp gave him charitable assistance at different times, not having the least suspicion that any person whatever had any claim on his person."—*Minutes of the Case of J. Strong.*

in the service of a respectable apothecary (Mr. Brown) in Fenchurch Street. In that comfortable situation he remained for two years, when, as he was one day attending his mistress behind a hackney coach, he was seen, and quickly recognised, by the lawyer to whom he had been a slave; and who, conceiving, from his appearance and active employment, that he must have regained his strength sufficiently for useful labour, instantly formed a design to recover possession of him. He followed the coach, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of his abode; and having discovered it, laid a plan to entrap him.

MS. "Some days afterwards, he (David Lisle) employed two of the Lord Mayor's officers to attend him to a public-house, from whence he sent a messenger, to acquaint Jonathan Strong that a person wanted to speak with him: Jonathan, of course, came, and was shocked to find that it was his old master who had sent for him, and who now immediately delivered him into the custody of the two officers. Jonathan, however, sent for Mr. Brown, who likewise came, but being violently threatened by the lawyer, on a charge of having detained *his property* (as he called Strong), he was intimidated, and left him in Lisle's hands.

"After this, G. S. received a letter from the Poultry Compter, signed *Jonathan Strong*, a name which he did not at first recollect; he sent, however, a messenger to the Compter to inquire about him, but the keepers denied that they had any such person committed to their charge."

I cannot refrain from adding another short testimony of Mr. William Sharp's humane behaviour to the distressed, which appeared in the voucher delivered in court by Strong himself:

"I meet with a man—told him my case—he recommended to Mr. William Sharp in Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street: I took his advice and went to Mr. Sharp. I could hardly walk, or see my way, where I was going. When I came to him, and he saw me in that condition, the gentleman take charity of me, and give me some stoff to wash my eyes with, and some money to get myself a little necessaries till next day. The day after, I come to the gentleman, and he sent me into the hospital, and I was in there four months and half. All the while I was in the hospital, the gentleman find me in clothes, shoes, and stockings, and when I come out, he paid for my lodging, and a money to find myself some necessaries, till he get me into a place.

JONATHAN STRONG."

This refusal was sufficient to rouse the suspicion and to call forth the active benevolence of Mr. Sharp.

MS. "G. S. then went himself to the Compter, inquired for the master of the prison, and insisted on seeing Jonathan Strong. He was then called, and was immediately recollected by G. S., who charged the master of the prison, *at his own peril, not to deliver him up* to any person whatever, who might claim him, until he had been carried before the Lord Mayor (Sir Robert Kite), to whom G. S. immediately went, and gave information that a Jonathan Strong had been confined in prison without any warrant; and he therefore requested of his Lordship to summon those persons who detained him, and to give G. S. notice to attend at the same time. This request was complied with."

It is feelingly remarked, by an eminent and intimate friend of Mr. Sharp, that his extraordinary action in behalf of the African race did not take its rise in *theory*, but was elicited by the occurrence of natural circumstances; and, agreeably to this observation, it will presently be seen, that the few events just related form the whole ground-work of his final success in the present case, and of his subsequent exertions in others of a similar nature.

MS. "When the appointed day was come (Sept. 18), G. S. attended at the Mansion-House, and found Jonathan in the presence of the Lord Mayor, and also two persons who claimed him; the one, a notary public, who produced a bill of sale from the original master* to James Kerr, Esq., a Jamaica planter, who had refused

* As documents of this kind are now happily obsolete in England, the reader may think a specimen of them worthy his curiosity.

"*BILL, &c. &c.*——To all to whom these presents shall come, David Lisle, of the parish of St. James, &c. &c. greeting. Know ye that the said David Lisle, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds good and lawful money, &c. to him in hand truly paid by James Kerr, Esq. late of Jamaica, &c. &c., doth grant, bargain, sell, and confirm unto the said James Kerr, his heirs and assigns, *one Negro Man Slave*, named Jonathan Strong, now in the

to pay the purchase money (thirty pounds) until the Negro should be delivered on board a ship belonging to Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, bound to Jamaica, the captain of which vessel, Mr. David Lair, was the other person then attending to take him away.

"The Lord Mayor having heard the claim, said, that 'the lad had not stolen any thing, and was not guilty of any offence, and was therefore at liberty to go away;' whereupon the captain seized him by the arm, and told the Lord Mayor, 'he took him as the *property* of Mr. Kerr.' Mr. Beech, the city coroner, now came behind G. S., and whispered in his ear the words 'Charge him;' at which G. S. turned upon the captain, and in an angry manner said, 'Sir, I charge you for an assault.' On this, Captain Lair quitted his hold of Jonathan's arm, and all bowed to the Lord Mayor and came away, Jonathan following G. S., and no one daring to touch him."

"A few days after this transaction, G. S. was charged, by a writ, with having robbed the original master, David Lisle, the lawyer, of a Negro slave, and also of another slave, &c. &c."

In these charitable exertions Granville appears to have been seconded by his brother James. He alludes to this circumstance, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Muyssen, (in Nov. 1767), in which he mentions "a law-suit commenced against him and his brother James for having lawfully and openly obtained the liberty of a poor Negro before the Chief Magistrate of the city*."

possession of the said David Lisle, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders rents, profits, and services of the said Slave, and all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim, and demand whatsoever, of him the said David Lisle, of, in, and to the same, To have and to hold the said Negro man, Jonathan Strong, unto the said James Kerr, his heirs, &c. to the only proper and absolute use and behoof of the said J. Kerr, his heirs, and assigns, &c. for ever, &c. "Signed, DAVID LISLE."

(Here follows a receipt from David Lisle for the thirty pounds paid by James Kerr.)

Minutes of the Trial of Jonathan Strong.

* A manuscript account (also drawn up by Mr. Granville Sharp) of the action brought on this occasion by Lisle, is entitled, "*The Case of James and Granville Sharp, as far as they have any concern with James Kerr, Esq.*"

But the action at law was not the only weapon employed to alarm him, and to deter him from the prosecution of his humane task. That no method might be left unessayed, which avarice or malice could prompt, to retrieve the step that had been lost, David Lisle sought out the *Negro*'s FRIEND at his brother William's house (where he then resided), and having announced his name, was admitted. The conversation, *on one part at least*, was warm; and Lisle, after ineffectual denunciations of revenge in various ways, attempted to intimidate by a challenge.—It is important to learn in what manner a defiance of this nature was received by a man of Mr. Sharp's character: the anecdote is thus related in the Manuscript Notes.

"Oct. 1, 1767. David Lisle, Esq. (a man of the law) called on me in Mincing Lane, to demand *gentlemanlike satisfaction*, because I had procured the liberty of his slave, Jonathan Strong. I told him, that, 'as he had studied the law so many years, he should want no satisfaction that the law could give him.'"

Mr. Sharp kept his word faithfully, but in a way little to be expected from a person who, as he himself states, "had never once opened a law book to consult it, till on occasion of the present cause."

His first step, in order to defend himself from the legal process instituted against him, was, to apply to an eminent solicitor in the Lord Mayor's office, and to retain Sir James Eyre, then Recorder of the city (and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas), as his counsel. After some consideration of the case, the solicitor brought him a copy of the opinion given in the year 1729, by the Attorney and Solicitor General, York and Talbot (asserting, as before stated, that a Slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, does not become free), and assured him that they should not be able to defend him against the action, as the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was also decidedly of the same opinion.

Information coming from such sources, and delivered on such authorities, would have produced despair in a mind less firm, less conscious of its own powers, and of the unconquerable claims of

universal justice. To Granville it furnished excitement, and a resolution (however unwillingly taken) to depend on himself in the arduous task which he now saw presented to him. "Thus forsaken," he says (in a letter of reply to the Earl of Hardwicke*), "by my professional defenders, I was compelled, through the want of regular legal assistance, to make a hopeless attempt at self-defence, though I was totally unacquainted, either with the practice of the law, or the foundations of it, having never opened a law-book (except the Bible) in my life, until that time, when I most reluctantly undertook to search the indexes of a law-library, which my bookseller had lately purchased."

It will be found, from a subsequent letter to the Bishop of London, that, in pursuance of this resolution, he gave himself up, for nearly two years, to an intense study of the English laws on those points particularly which regard *the liberty of person* in British subjects. A folio common-place book, filled with the most important extracts on that topic, attests his unremitting diligence†.

As it was during these researches that his mind appears to have been first turned to the substantial redress of detested slavery, our attention is naturally called to observe the rising progress of his thoughts on the subject. The following notes, in which, as before hinted, a simple recurrence to the acts of aggression on the part of Lisle is rendered productive of the most powerful inference, are copied from an entry made by himself on a detached sheet of paper. They follow in the order here given:—

MS. "1767, Saturday, September 12.—Received a letter from Jonathan Strong, a Negro.

* The Opinion of York and Talbot being quoted (many years afterwards) in Bowyer's "Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade," the Earl of Hardwicke, with feelings which did honour to his heart, but under the influence of less accurate information than was his due, addressed a note to Mr. Bowyer, questioning the correctness of the statement. Mr. Bowyer applied to Mr. Sharp for a satisfactory answer to his Lordship's observations; which was accordingly sent in the letter here alluded to.

† The folio is thus marked on the cover, in his own hand-writing:—"Memorandums of Law and Constitutional History, selected in the course of reading."

"Went to Mr. Brown's, to inquire.

"Saw Mr. Brown's shopman, who informed me, that J. Strong was carried away to the Poultry Compter by a person (assisted by two others) who said that Strong was his slave;

"That he said Strong had robbed him (or carried away his property), but on being questioned as to what he had lost, it appeared to be only an old livery on Jonathan's back, part of which he confessed the boy had parted with some time before he left him.

"That Mr. Brown sent Poole to see the boy in the Compter, who *was twice denied* admittance." . . . .

"'EVERY ALIEN AND STRANGER are bounden by and unto the laws and statutes of this realm, and to all and singular the contents of the same.' Act 32 Henry VIII.—Consequently, they are the King's subjects within this realm, and *as such* must be under the protection of the laws of this realm.—Query, whether aliens oppressed in England, under the pretence of their being slaves, may not sue their respective masters, in the King's name, for attempting forcibly to keep, detain, and transport out of the kingdom as slaves, aliens that are his Majesty's subjects, as above recited, and are, consequently, under the protection of the laws of this realm?" . . . .

"There is no English law to justify the masters of slaves against such a plea. One or two late precedents of trials, may, perhaps, be alleged, which may seem to confirm a right over slaves; but I apprehend that the trials were founded only in a vulgar error, that Negroes are made free by baptism, and therefore, as such a supposition has nothing to support it, the causes were of course lost.

"But the same cannot be said, when put upon the right footing; for there is no law to justify a claim to the servitude of any man in England, native or alien, unless he is indentured for a term of years with his own consent. An Act was passed in 1st Edward VI. chap. 3, by which vagabonds were made slaves, but was repealed the 3d or 4th of the same reign (chap. 16). And, besides, the word *slaves*, or any thing that can justify the enslaving of others, is not to be

found, God be thanked, in any other law or statute whatever—at least, that I am able to find out."

There is something deeply affecting in this document. The single point of truth which here dawned on his mind, opened the whole subject to his view, and, like the apple which fell to the ground in Newton's sight, led to the astonishing consequences which have followed his exertions. This point once established, the errors of ignorance and the artifices of fraud became alike ineffectual. Here was the solution of all the difficulties which had embarrassed the former trials of Negro causes.

In his difficult task of legal inquiry he had no instructor; no assistant, except his own diligence; no encourager, except his own conscience. For it is remarkable, that, during his studies, he applied to the celebrated judge and commentator, Dr. Blackstone, but received little satisfaction from his opinion on the interesting subject in question*. He consulted, likewise, several other professional men of eminence, but could find no one whose opinion was favourable to his undertaking. "Even my own lawyers," he repeats, "were against me;" so much force had precedent, and the authority of those great names, York and Talbot, to bias even the soundest judgments.

The powers of Mr. Sharp's genius were shown in the result of his study. Decided and unsubmitting as to the *end* of his labour, he gradually put forth in manuscript such arguments as he deemed most powerful in favour of the Negro's rights, combating every objection with fresh vigour, and continuing to join *part* to *part* of his work, as the cause proceeded. Lisle, finding the nature of the person with whom he had to deal, invented various pretexts for deferring the suit against him, and at length offered a compromise, which Mr. Sharp rejected.

By continued application, before the final term when he was to answer the charge against his brother and himself, Granville had

* Some of his letters will be found in the *Correspondence*.

added to a thorough investigation of the English laws much extraneous research into those of other nations; and he had compiled in manuscript, a tract "On the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery, or even of admitting the least Claim to private Property in the Persons of Men, in England." This tract, when completed, he submitted to the perusal of Dr. Blackstone*; and then employed his utmost efforts to circulate it, by means of numerous copies, among those on whom he wished it to produce a favourable effect. The arguments contained in it were irresistible, and by its success he had the satisfaction of amply fulfilling his promise to his antagonist. "The substance of this tract," he says, "was handed about among the gentlemen of the law, in twenty or more different MS. copies†, for nearly two years, until the lawyers employed against the Negro, Jonathan Strong, were intimidated‡, and the plaintiff was compelled to pay treble costs for not bringing forward the action§; after which," he adds, "the tract was printed in 1769."

* His letter to Dr. Blackstone on this occasion is remarkable for the great deference with which he looked to his candid assistance and advice, at the time that he was resolutely acting in opposition to his avowed sentiments in his Commentaries.

"*Oct.* 4, 1768.

"SIR,—Being desirous that my remarks on the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, York and Talbot, should be quite ready for the press against the termination of my law-suit, I have lately revised and made several alterations in them, and have taken the liberty to send you a copy, which I earnestly desire you to peruse, and to inform me, whether you have any objection to what I wrote concerning your own opinion on that head. I shall think myself much honoured by your directions, if you should think proper that I ought to make any farther alterations. However defective my writings on the subject may be, I am assured of your good opinion, with respect to the intentions of them, by the polite and affable reception which my brother James and myself met with, when we had the honour of waiting on you in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Solicitor-General, before he left town, advised me to have a consultation of counsel in the begining of next term, and this, whether my adversaries continued their suit or not. "G. SHARP."

The counsel alluded to appear to have been, Dr. Blackstone himself, the Solicitor-General before-mentioned, and the Recorder.

† Twenty copies were found among the papers given by Mr. Sharp's executrix to the *African Institution*.

‡ For the causes of their alarm, read the extract from the "Act for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for preventing of Imprisonment beyond the Seas;" 31 Car. II. 1679; printed in Mr. Sharp's Tract on Slavery, at the end of the first part.

§ This circumstance is verified by the following memorandum:—"1774. May 24th. Received

Thus far Mr. Sharp's own narrative. It is now proper to give some account of the singular instrument by which he secured his triumph over his opponent.

The Tract *on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in England*, was a plain, manly, and clear defence of the part which he had taken. In it, he combated the opinion of York and Talbot, first, by opposing to it the authority of the eminent Lord Chief Justice Holt: he then impugned it, by asserting that it was delivered *conditionally* only, *not absolutely*, and stated its *conditional conclusion* to be perfectly right, and its defect to be, the having omitted to *express the condition* on which alone it rests—namely, the existence of a prior contract in writing, denoting the *voluntary relinquishment of freedom* on the part of the slave.

He next proved, by legitimate distinctions, that a Negro is neither of *a base nature*, nor *a thing*—as he had been termed by slave-holders—but that he possesses from nature the privilege of his *humanity*, and that he does not fall within any of the cases in which the English laws divest a man of that privilege*.

He then proceeds to state, agreeably to his first conception of the subject, that *every man* in England is a bounden subject of the King, and thereby a part of his property, and entitled to his protection; and he finally demonstrates the wisdom of our laws in the use of the general, comprehensive terms, in which *all subjects*, of whatever rank or condition, *actual* or *prospective*, are alike included.—This doctrine he supports by the Act of Charles II., "For the better

from Mr. Kerr, costs, on account of the suit in behalf of Jonathan Strong, 19*l.* 14*s.*; and paid Mr. Colston's bill (his attorney) out of it, 11*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*; and to Adkinson, 1*l.* 1*s.*

Lisle seems to have made a second attempt to establish his claim, but probably soon found his error, as no farther mention of it occurs beyond the following note:

"*Old Jewry, 3d June*, 1769.

"Mr. G. S. presents his best compliments to Mr. Mist, and will be much obliged to him if he will be pleased to acquaint Jonathan Strong, that Mr. Kerr has litigiously commenced another action on his account with Mr. James and Granville Sharp, notwithstanding that his attorneys deceitfully contrived to keep the last suit in suspense for eight terms (though only three are allowed by the law) without daring to bring it to an issue."

* "Disabling him to hold any office or franchise, as if such person was naturally dead."

securing the Liberty of the Subject," &c.—These were the arguments of the First and Second Parts.

To a clear and convincing statement of such facts, he added a menacing caution to all who should dare to advise or abet the imprisonment of Negroes, of which proceeding he showed the danger, on the authority of the same Act of Parliament*. The conclusion of

* In an occasional addition to the first part of his tract, addressed, "to Messrs. David L—le, James K—r, John R—ss, William M—cb—n, James M—ll—r, and David L—d," after alluding to the civil *divesture* mentioned in the preceding note, he proceeds thus:

"But there are, likewise, other cases wherein a man may be said (in a moral sense) to divest himself of humanity, and subject himself to the civil death before mentioned, being liable to be put out of the King's protection. For instance, Every man who ranks his Negro servant with his horse or his dog; calls him private property; and, *as such*, presumes to commit, detain, imprison, or sell him FOR TRANSPORTATION OUT OF ENGLAND, contrary to the true meaning of the statute of 31 Charles II., which is expressly intended 'for the better securing the LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT, and for prevention of imprisonment beyond the sea;'—for, as there is no exception whatsoever of any particular rank or denomination of subjects, every individual (except the King himself) is most certainly included under this general term, Subject. 'Likewise, all or any person or persons, who shall have framed, contrived, written, sealed, or countersigned, any *warrant* or *writing*' [*N. B.* A bill of sale may certainly be included under these terms] 'for such commitment, detainer, imprisonment, or transportation; or shall be advising, aiding, or assisting in the same, or any of them.' [*Note* again, That it is dangerous even to give opinions, or to act as counsellor or attorney in favour of so bad a cause.] 'And the *plaintiff in every action* shall have judgment to recover his *treble costs*, besides damages; which damages, so to be given, shall not be less than five hundred pounds. In which action, no delay, stay, stop of proceeding by rule, order, or command, nor no injunction,' [for the Judge may not direct the Jury contrary to this statute, let his private opinion be what it may] 'protection, or privilege whatsoever,' &c. &c.

"And farther: 'Every person, lawfully convicted of any of the aforesaid offences, shall be disabled to bear any office of trust or profit within the said realm of England, and shall incur the pains, penalties, and forfeiture, ordained in and by the statute of *Provision* and *Præmunire*, made 16th of K. Rich. II., and be incapable of any pardon from the King, &c. and shall be wholly *put out of the King's protection.*'"

He then adds, "Now, if it will be any satisfaction to my opponents to know what persons in the present case are liable to incur the several penalties above mentioned, I am willing to give them all the information that I can—viz.

"1st. The *buyer*, and, 2dly, the *seller* of the Negro. 3dly and 4thly, The *two city officers*, who apprehended and confined him. 5thly, The *notary-public* who drew up, witnessed, or negotiated the bill of sale. And, 6thly, The *master of the West India ship*, who demanded him in the name of the buyer, in order to transport him beyond the seas; contrary to the meaning and intent of the said recited act of 31 Charles II.

"All these six persons, if lawfully convicted, will be severally liable to pay 500*l.* at least for damages, besides treble costs;—so that the Negro might undoubtedly have ample amends for his sufferings.

the cautionary remarks is expressive of the high and manly character of the writer *.

In a third part, he examined the advantages and disadvantages of slavery, in regard to national property and morals, and demonstrated its inconsistency with the English laws.

In the last part, he gave an accurate account of the gradual abolition of the state of *villenage* in England.

The labour of producing this glorious development of the English palladium of liberty, necessarily demanded the most assiduous and unwearied application. The triumph of his humanity was his reward.

But he did not desire to rest here. He had, during this period of labour, re-edited a publication printed in America in 1762, containing an "Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes, and of the Slave Trade;" to which he added a "Conclusion," calculated to increase the public interest in the cause which he had undertaken; and, on occasion of printing his tract on the Injustice of Slavery, he addressed himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter, which, while it gave evidence of his strong religious feelings, broke the first ground also in England on the general subject of the Slave Trade.

* "But I have not concerned myself in this affair for any such purpose. If I appeared in favour of the Negro, it was because he was in distress. Therefore, I shall seem unreasonable, if, in attempting to relieve one person, I should cause an equal distress to six others, by enabling that *one* to put the rigour of the law in execution against them: and I am the more inclined to lay aside such prosecution, because the several persons concerned seem to have been led to these offences *by mistaken opinions of Counsel.*

"Therefore, if all these persons will acknowledge their error in writing—(I do not mean that they should subscribe themselves *guilty*, but only that they will use some such general and safe expressions as shall be agreed on for that purpose)—so that the same may be made public, in order to deter others from the like offences, and for the *vindication and right understanding of English liberty*, I will immediately drop all thoughts of prosecution in behalf of Jonathan Strong: provided also, that the said parties give sufficient security for their future good behaviour.

"But if they reject these friendly conditions, they may be assured that I shall think myself in duty bound, as a *man*, as a *Christian*, and as a *subject of England*, to defend the said Negro, and this my opinion, in the King's Courts, to the utmost of my abilities: for my opinion is not founded on my own presumption, but on the plainest literal expressions of statutes formed and ordained by the wisdom and authority of King, Lords, and Commons.

1767, *October* 9th. "GRANVILLE SHARP."

To His Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, May 15, 1769.

" I have taken the liberty to send your Grace a little tract against Slavery, part of which, in manuscript, was honoured with your perusal and approbation.

" Having since heard a solemn debate in Westminster Hall; and having also myself discoursed with several eminent and learned gentlemen of the law upon the point in question, I found it necessary to make very considerable additions, in order to obviate all their objections, and that I might not leave them the least shadow of an excuse for their misinterpretations, both of the statute and common law of England.

" How much soever I may have failed, either in points of style as a writer, or of method as a law commentator, yet if it appears upon the whole that I have reason and justice on my side, with respect to the main design of the work, it is as much success as I ought to expect; and I am sure, if this should be really the case, that your Grace's humanity will lead you to consider of some proper method of putting a stop to the dangerous increase of Slaves in this kingdom, as well as of procuring a repeal of those iniquitous Plantation-Laws, which reflect not only dishonour, but the blackest guilt, on the British Government, so long as they are tolerated.

" Interested persons plead the necessity of such a toleration; but it appears, by a letter written many years ago by a planter of Antigua, that necessity was not the true reason of introducing Negro Slaves into the plantations, but that the desire of encouraging the African trade was the real motive; and from thence we may learn likewise, that White servants (provided they are temperate and sober) are sufficiently capable of working in those hot climates." [He here gives an extract from the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xi. p. 146.]

" I take the liberty of mentioning thus much to your Grace, because the Government, even at this time, is made to believe that the African trade is a capital object of their consideration; and a man-of-war is now going, at the King's expense, with engineers, draughtsmen, &c. to survey the Company's castles and fortifications on the African coast.

" The trade for gold dust, elephant's teeth, &c. &c., is certainly valuable, and deserves encouragement; but the unlawful practice of buying and selling the persons of the unfortunate natives, ought by all means to be prohibited, if

the Government is concerned; otherwise, the British Government is answerable for all the unjust wars which distract those wretched countries, and which may draw heavy judgments upon this kingdom.

"I am myself convinced, that nothing can thrive which is in any way concerned in that unjust trade. I have known several instances, which are strong proofs to me of the judgments of God, even in this world, against such a destructive and iniquitous traffic.

"By your Grace's exalted station both in church and state, you have it more in your power to act with good effect in this cause than any other of his Majesty's subjects; and should you undertake it, I doubt not but that thousands, and ten thousands, who are now sunk in a most deplorable state of wretchedness, will have reason to bless God for the good success of your Grace's endeavours.

"With the greatest respect and esteem," &c. &c.

During the progress of these transactions, several circumstances had conspired to stimulate Mr. Sharp's efforts in the course of Christian charity which he was pursuing. From the zeal and ability which he had manifested in his correspondence with Dr. Kennicott, as well as from the station which he had voluntarily taken in public action, and the resolute manner in which he devoted the powers of his strong understanding to the interests of a fellow-creature, it was natural to imagine, that a mind so virtuously directed, as it would dispose, so would eminently fit, its possessor for the ministry of religion. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 1767, he was warmly pressed to enter into holy orders, by his uncle, the Rev. Granville Wheler, who offered to resign in his favour the living of Great Leke, in Nottinghamshire, worth at that time somewhat more than 300*l.* per annum. The following letter contains his answer.—

*To the Rev. Granville Wheler, Esq.**

"Dear Sir, "Nov. 26, 1767.

"You desired me to take time to consider of your late proposal to me; which I have accordingly done: but this consideration has had no other effect

* The Rev. G. Wheler claimed the addition of *Esquire*, as being the son of Sir George

than that of making me still more sensible of the greatness of my obligation to you, for the very extraordinary generosity and kindness of your intentions.

I cannot satisfy myself concerning my own qualifications for the proposed honourable function, because I think, that, in a situation where more fruit would be expected, the same poor abilities would appear in a very inferior light.

This, however, is not my only reason for declining it; for indeed I pay very little regard to what the world may think of my abilities; and I hope I shall always be more ambitious of maintaining the character of an honest man and a Christian, than that of a scholar. But the truth is, that I have not the least inclination for the employment of a Minister: and even if I could flatter myself that I am at all capable of serving the cause of religion, yet I should apprehend that I might much more effectually do so as a layman, than as a Clergyman, especially in religious controversies, wherein a volunteer has many advantages with the public, both with respect to the estimation of his motives for defending the truth, and also with regard to what may be expected of him; but more particularly if it is known that he neither professes that kind of warfare, nor has regularly studied to qualify himself for it. However, the unexpected favour of your proposal is not lost upon me: for this remarkable token of your esteem and approbation of my endeavours has afforded me the most sensible satisfaction, especially as I am bound in gratitude, as well as natural duty, to be ever solicitous of maintaining your good opinion, which I value in the highest degree.

"Your dutiful Nephew," &c. &c.

Notwithstanding this candid avowal of his sentiments, a similar offer was several times renewed by his uncle, but the acceptance of it was uniformly declined.

Refusals of this nature are sometimes prompted by personal feelings, either of aversion to those restraints which the religious profession necessarily imposes, or of scrupulous objections to some particular expressions in the initiatory articles. Neither of these motives was likely to influence a man whose mind had been early formed to religious temperance, and was now enlarged by the most comprehensive views of its duties. His refusal, therefore, was dictated,

Wheler, who was knighted by Charles II. at Winchester; and he was at all times peculiarly solicitous to retain the distinction.

as the style of his letter indicates, by a simple sincerity of heart. He perceived a wide field before him, into which he could enter for the service of religion, and he did not wish to confine his path. But, in declining the opportunity of professional service, he measured with conscientious strictness the comparative standard which he thus solemnly raised for his future conduct; and he regarded his decision in this instance as a pledge irrevocably given for the most strenuous activity, wherever the interests of our pure religion might be concerned. Hence we may date from this period the establishment in his heart of an additional motive to the most serious and important exertion of his faculties.

Another case had likewise occurred, while the suit with Lisle was still pending, which tended to engage him more deeply in behalf of the Negro slaves. This was the case of Hylas, also an African, which was brought to trial in the year 1768. Hylas complained that his wife had been kidnapped by a man of the name of Newton, and sent to the West Indies to be sold for a slave. Our philanthropist was applied to, and interested himself for the success of the cause. In consequence of the view which he had taken of the subject (in the manner above related), Hylas was enabled to prosecute the aggressor, whose slave his wife had been in Barbadoes; and the cause was tried before Lord Chief-Justice Wilmot, in the court of Common Pleas, on the 3d of December. The decision was in favour of the plaintiff: damages were given; and the defendant was bound, under a penalty, to bring back the woman, either by the first ship, or at farthest within six months.

Mr. Sharp attended the trial, and drew up a report, with remarks on it *.

* In this report, the case stated by the Judge for the determination of the Court was as follows:—

"Plaintiff, and his wife Mary, were Negro Slaves, born in Barbadoes: the plaintiff was the property of Miss Judith Aleyne; Mary was the property of Mrs. Newton, wife of the defendant. They so being slaves, were brought over, by their several master and mistress, in the year 1754: they were married, by the consent of Miss Aleyne and Mr. Newton, in the year

His mind was now fully awakened to the magnitude of the abuses which existed with respect to African slaves in this country, and he looked anxiously around on every part, to prevent any accumulation of the evil, against which he had been contending. Two letters, written by him in this and the following year, will prove the vigilance which he began openly to demonstrate.

To Mr. Alderman Beckford.

(Enclosing a MS. copy of "Remarks on the Injustice of Slavery.")

" Sir, " 17th May, 1768.

" A copy of an advertisement was put into my hands this morning, which had been inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* of yesterday, for apprehending a poor wretched Negro boy, whereby a reward was offered to whoever will bring him, or any tidings of him, to *Mr. Beckford, in Pall Mall.* Now, Sir, as I have a very great esteem for the name of Beckford, on account of your steady and independent behaviour on all public occasions, and because I believe you to be a sincere well-wisher to the true interests, constitution, and liberties of this kingdom, I have made bold (on a supposition that Mr. Beckford in Pall Mall may be a relation of yours) to send you the enclosed remarks, concerning the tenure of Negro Slaves in England.

" I am thoroughly persuaded that the holding of slaves in this island may be productive of very bad consequences, especially as it seems at this time a very growing evil.——I am apprehensive that you are at present of a very different opinion, and, what is worse, I cannot at all flatter myself (notwithstanding all my pains-taking) that what I have written is so far conclusive as to move your assent. Nevertheless, I hope at least that you may be thereby induced to consider the subject more seriously than you have hitherto done; and on this only I rely, for I have not the least doubt, from your general character, that, howsoever we may differ in opinion, you will, notwithstanding, most certainly discard all motives of private interest, which might be liable to

1758. In the year ——, the plaintiff left the family, with the consent of Mr. Newton; and in the year 1766 they sent away the plaintiff's wife, Mary, without his consent.—Upon the whole, if the Court should be of opinion that she did not continue the Negro servant of the defendant, they will find a verdict for the plaintiff."

The farther remarks on the trial are so sensible, so strong, and so calm, that they will be inserted in the Appendix.

affect the point in question, if, on a strict examination, they should appear to be repugnant to equity and justice.

Mincing Lane, 17th May, 1768. "With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

To the Right Honourable Lord Camden, Lord High Chancellor of England.

"My Lord, "28th November, 1769—Old Jewry.

"The enclosed advertisement (*a*) was inserted in the 'Public Advertiser' of this day; and, as I humbly conceive that the frequency of such publications must tend very much to extinguish those benevolent and humane principles which ought to adorn a Christian nation, I hope your Lordship will pardon the liberty I now take, in laying the same before you, together with a printed remonstrance, which contains my reasons more at large.

"By the high office with which your Lordship is most worthily invested, you are certainly the constitutional guardian even of the meanest of his Majesty's subjects, when oppressed; and therefore I am thoroughly persuaded that your Lordship will take such notice of this notorious breach of the laws of nature, humanity, and equity, and also of the established law, custom, and constitution of England, as will be most consistent with that strict and unshaken regard for all these which has always been a distinguished part of your Lordship's character.

"With all imaginable respect and esteem," &c. &c.

(a) Public Advertiser, Tuesday, 28th November, 1769.

To be sold, a Black Girl, the property of J. B——, eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition.

"Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement's church, in the Strand."

The reader may perceive, from the dates of these letters, that it was within the same period that Mr. Sharp addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury in the solemn manner before noticed.

The devout turn of mind disclosed in that letter, and the zealous reverence of the sacred Scriptures, which had before excited his controversy with Dr. Kennicott, were manifested also about this

time, in a correspondence into which he entered with the eminent Physician and Quaker, Dr. Fothergill, on the subject of religious worship. Dr. Fothergill, from a general sense of respect for Mr. Sharp's character, and a desire to assist his benevolent purposes with regard to the Negro slaves, had sent him some important suggestions in their favour, with many expressions of his approbation of the tract against Slavery. He at the same time requested his acceptance of a copy of Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, of which work he had just published a very handsome edition, "and which," he says, "has at least the merit of being printed by Baskerville." "The sentiments it contains," he adds, "are humane, and will be so far agreeable to you." Mr. Sharp began to read and to examine. His natural earnestness of investigation soon again animated his study. The rights of human freedom, graciously imparted by the Creator, had already called him forth to useful labour; the return of pure obedience and worship from the creature, now became with him an object of equal solicitude. The result of his researches was the production of a work in reply, which, previous to its intended publication, he sent in MS. to Dr. Fothergill, according to his custom*. The Doctor, however, did not immediately accept his advances in the same kind part in which they were designed, and an intercourse of

* It was entitled "An Apology for an Apology," &c. This work, I believe, was never printed, probably from Mr. Sharp's perceiving that he was in danger of unprofitably offending those whom he could not hope to convince.——It is just to notice, in this instance, a proof, confirmed by numerous subsequent ones, of the real and constant motive by which he was actuated, in the publication of his various writings. They were, uniformly, either handed about in manuscript, or presented gratuitously in print to those whose interest he conceived to be any way involved in them, or to whom he thought they might be acceptable; but were rarely offered to the public, and never with any view of emolument from their sale; so decidedly was the hope of doing good the sole object in every action of his life.

This was particularly his mode of proceeding in all matters of a *controversial* nature, wishing always that those persons whose opinions he opposed should be the first to be made acquainted with his sentiments, and have time to consider his arguments, before they were publicly stated. Indeed, if they produced any effect on the mind of his opponent, he either remained satisfied, or obtained his permission to make them known for the good of others.

It was not till 1807 that he printed a Letter in answer to some of the "Leading Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers;" and even that Letter, as the title-page expressed, was printed only for private communication.

letters was commenced, altogether of the most interesting and important nature. Two letters in particular, (one from each party), present a most striking example of that temper and Christian benevolence, which in argument appear to adorn none but the brightest and wisest minds*.

Mr. Sharp's acquaintance with Dr. Fothergill began on that occasion; and it will be seen, in the events that succeeded, how justly both these excellent disciples of an equal Master had learned to appreciate the difference between opinions and personal worth.

* See Correspondence.

CHAP. II.

AT no great distance of time from the preceding events, the powerful weight of Mr. Sharp's arguments, printed in his tract on Slavery, was again felt in our courts of law. He had the gratification of witnessing their influence on the occasion of a trial in defence of another Negro, whom he (as his MS. Notes state), " at the request and at the expense of Mrs. Banks, mother of Mr. Banks, the Traveller*, had released, by writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a ship then under sail in the Downs."

As this case was of considerable importance to the general interests of the Negro cause, it will be necessary to relate some previous circumstances of the transaction.—An African, of the name of Thomas Lewis, had formerly been a slave in the possession of a Mr. Stapylton, who now resided at Chelsea. Stapylton, with the aid of two watermen, whom he had hired for that purpose, in a dark night seized the person of Lewis, and, after a struggle, dragged him on his back into the water, and thence into a boat lying in the Thames, where, having first tied his legs, they endeavoured to gag him, by thrusting a stick into his mouth; and then, rowing down to a ship bound for Jamaica, whose commander was previously engaged in the wicked conspiracy, they put him on board, to be sold for a slave on his arrival in the island.—This treacherous act, how warily soever it had been contrived, had not escaped notice in the adjoining mansion, which Lewis knew to be inhabited by Mrs. Banks's family. His cries, on his way to the boat, reached the ears of some of the servants, who immediately ran out to give assistance; but they did not venture to attempt his rescue, because the ruffians pretended to have a warrant from the Lord Mayor for his apprehension. They, however,

* The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. G. C. B.

hastened back to acquaint their mistress with what had passed; and Mr. Sharp, beginning now to be distinguished as the protector of distressed Africans, was again resorted to, for instructions how to proceed in behalf of the unfortunate man who had been carried off.

MS. "1770, July 3.—Mrs. Banks called on me in the Old Jewry this morning, about a Negro, George August, *alias* Thomas Lewis, who had been kidnapped.—Went with her to Justice Welsh: got a warrant from the Rotation Office in Litchfield Street, to bring back Thomas Lewis. The warrant was backed by the Mayor at Gravesend; but the ship being cleared, the captain refused to obey the warrant: they could not stop her, and she sailed for the Downs.

"July 4.—Went to the Lord Mayor, and to Justice Welsh, also to Judge Willes and Baron Smith, for a writ of Habeas Corpus, in behalf of Thomas Lewis.

"6th.—Mrs. Banks called, and said her servant was gone with the Habeas Corpus."

The ship having fortunately been detained in the Downs by contrary winds, the writ was served, and the captain delivered up the Slave.

MS. "July 7.—Peter (the servant just before mentioned) called before eight o'clock this morning, with the Negro, and the waterman, Richard Coleman. I got a warrant to take up Stapylton and two of his accomplices."

Thus, by the fourth morning after Mr. Sharp first heard of the seizure of the Negro, a warrant had been obtained, and sent on board the vessel in which he was confined at Gravesend; and that proving unsuccessful, and the vessel having sailed for the Downs, a writ of Habeas Corpus was procured (with some difficulty, arising from the accidental necessity of applying successively to several magistrates),

sent down to Spithead, and served on board the ship, still lying in the Downs; the slave himself brought safely back to London; and a warrant issued against the author of the outrage! The promptitude of head, heart, and hand, in this transaction, can scarcely be surpassed; and yet the principal charge of Mr. Sharp's self-accusations, as will be seen hereafter, was slowness!!

The transaction, of course, did not end here.

MS. "July 12.—A bill was this day preferred, and found by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, at Hick's Hall, against Stapylton, and against Malony and Armstrong, watermen, in behalf of Thomas Lewis. This indictment was found by the Grand Jury, without the least demur or doubt on account of the plaintiff's complexion, or idea of private property.

"The cause was removed by *certiorari* to the King's Bench, and brought into court before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, on the 20th February, 1771."

When the trial came on, the two watermen employed to seize Lewis did not appear, but only Stapylton the master, who defended himself on the plea of Lewis belonging to him as a slave. But a claim of that nature had now lost its force. Mr. Dunning, one of the counsel employed by Mrs. Banks on behalf of the Negro, held up Mr. Sharp's Tract in his hand, and declared, before Lord Mansfield and the Court, that he was prepared to maintain, in any of the courts in Great Britain, that *no man can be legally detained as a Slave in this country* .... No demonstration more honourable could be given, of the impression which the legal suggestions, contained in that work, had made on a professional man of distinguished capacity*.

* Mr. Dunning's expressions on this occasion have been preserved by Mr. Clarkson, in his "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

NS. "Lord Mansfield avoided bringing the question to issue, by discharging the Negro on some other pretence." ... "He was, in fact, discharged because the defendant could bring no evidence that Lewis was even nominally his property."

It is remarkable, that the triumph obtained in the cause just related, was rather forced on Mr. Sharp than sought by him. After the bill of indictment had been found by the Grand Jury, taking into consideration the many disagreeable circumstances, as well as expenses, to which Mrs. Banks would be exposed by a law-suit, he had made overtures to Stapylton of a compromise, on such terms as the justice of the case required. To these, Stapylton peremptorily refused to accede, and instantly removed the cause to the King's Bench, with a view to increase the expenses of the prosecution.

On this movement, Granville drew up a petition, which he presented to the Court in the name of Lewis, but tending chiefly to enforce on the Court the real and disinterested intentions of the prosecutrix.

The following papers give a clear view of the proceedings.

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

"Madam, "July 18th, 1770.

"I have taken every opportunity of leisure since I saw you last, to urge your solicitor, Mr. Lucas, to use his utmost diligence in securing Stapylton and his accomplices, and that he should likewise endeavour to persuade them to make proper submission, and get clear of the prosecution on the terms which I proposed—viz. public acknowledgment, sufficient security for the peace, and the payment of all charges. But, notwithstanding these equitable terms, Stapylton has moved the indictment into the Court of King's Bench; in order to which, however, he has thought himself obliged to change his attorney for another, probably less scrupulous, whose name is ———.

"The greatest part of the charge in bringing on this affair in the Court of King's Bench, I am told, must fall on the defendants, because they are the movers from the other Court; but be this as it will, it is certainly very disagreeable to be engaged in a law-suit, though law and justice and right be ever so apparently on our side. I shall therefore use my best endeavours to

intimidate the defendants and their attorney, by every fair method and argument that I can devise, that they may be induced to submit to the accommodation proposed.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

Petition of Thomas Lewis, presented to the Court.

"That your humble Petitioner is informed, that (by an Act of Parliament, which he heard read when he lodged his complaint before his Majesty's justices of the peace), those who are in any way concerned in attempting to transport *any person whatsoever* out of this kingdom without his own consent, either by advising, abetting, aiding, or assisting, &c. or shall even sign their names to any paper or warrant for such transportation, are liable to very severe penalties, and that very considerable damages are adjudged by the law in favour of the sufferer, when the facts are sufficiently proved.

"That your Petitioner is neither able of himself to carry on a *prosecution in form*, nor is desirous that the law should be enforced in its utmost rigour, which he apprehends would absolutely ruin the several offenders. He only wishes that this Court may make them truly sensible of the heinousness of their offence, and oblige them to make public acknowledgment thereof, that others may be deterred from committing such unlawful and dangerous outrages.

"That your Petitioner also implores, in the King's name, the protection of this Court, that all the parties concerned against him may be bound in a sufficient recognizance for the preservation of the King's peace in general, and for their future good behaviour towards your Petitioner in particular."

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

"Madam,

"Stapylton and his attorney still seem obstinately determined to stand trial*; so that I now repent most heartily that we did not abide by the

* In a Memorandum which Mr. Sharp sent to the counsel in the cause, he lays great stress on this circumstance in favour of the plaintiff Lewis. "Some mention," he says, "ought likewise to be made in the brief, that the prosecutor would gladly have dropt the action, provided the defendant would have given security for his future good behaviour, and have made public acknowledgment of his fault, for the sake of example.

"These friendly terms were repeatedly offered, and as often haughtily rejected by the defendant, of which I apprehend sufficient proof can be given.—The Court will be convinced from this circumstance, that the prosecution is not carried on either through malice or with

measures which I at first proposed—viz. merely exhibiting articles of the peace at the sessions; for, though the latter might have seemed too mild a proceeding against so heinous an offence, yet it would have entirely baffled Stapylton, without putting it in his power to have removed the cause from the sessions. I cannot help being very uneasy about the risk of a trial, especially as you have already incurred such heavy charges: and as I am chiefly to blame for this continuation of expenses, by being too easily persuaded to consent to an indictment, I shall be very glad to be admitted to any share of the future expense that you shall think proper; for you cannot possibly have this affair more at heart than I have.

"But, if an offer of this kind from a person of so very humble a fortune as myself, should seem rather like vain ostentation, I hope the following apology will be admitted in my favour;—that money, in my opinion, has no value but when it is well spent; and I am thoroughly convinced, that no part of my little pittance of ready money can ever be better bestowed than in an honest endeavour to crush a growing oppression, which is not only shocking to humanity, but in time must prove even dangerous to the community.

"I have ordered Mr. Lucas to prepare a brief with all speed, and lay it before Counsellor Lucas, with a proper fee; and as it is the safest way to have two counsel, our next step must be to retain a proper person to take the lead in the Court of King's Bench.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

The pecuniary offer was declined; but Mrs. Banks assented to every thing which could serve the general cause of humanity, generously expressing a pleasure that the affair had taken its present turn, and especially directing the means by which Mr. Sharp might be relieved from every expense that might ensue*.

a pecuniary view, to profit by the just damages which the law assigns in recompence to those who have been injured by such outrages; but it must plainly appear from thence, that the sole motive of this action is self-defence against bodily insult, involuntary transportation, and *wretched slavery*;—a most reasonable plea this, when an innocent man labours under such dreadful circumstances! Such a plea must necessarily *demand* the favour of the Court, and I doubt not will greatly influence the Jury in behalf of the prosecutor and the justice of his action."

* The postscript to her letter on this occasion discloses a farther trait of Mr. Sharp's benevolence and active provision for every want of his fellow-creatures:—"I am afraid T. Lewis will

Mr. Dunning and Mr. Davenport were the counsel named by her for the ensuing trial.

To Mrs. Banks.

"Old Jewry, Friday, 22d February, 1771.

"G. S. presents respectful compliments to Mrs. Banks, and most heartily congratulates her on the success of her charitable and generous support of Thomas Lewis, on Wednesday last, February 20th.

"The general question, indeed, was so far evaded by the Court, that the Jury had it not in their power to find a verdict so determinate and full to the *honour of humanity* as could have been wished, or indeed as the honest Jury themselves really seemed to intend; nevertheless, as humanity has been fully exemplified, even in the very endeavours of Mrs. Banks to maintain the dignity of the human species, the honour will be reciprocal to both.

"G. S. will beg Mrs. Banks's acceptance of a copy of the trial, as soon as it can be written out from the notes in short-hand, because a view of the diligence and adroitness of her counsel on that occasion will probably afford her both entertainment and satisfaction."

The reader is by this time fully acquainted with the genuine modesty of character, of which the last letter presents an instance*. How entirely does the writer lose sight of his own share in the transaction!

contract an idle habit by continuing so long out of place, but can hear of nothing for him at present. He was for some time prevented *attending your kind bounty* by illness, but got quite strong and hearty some days ago, when I found he still neglected to *attend his school-master*."

Mr. Sharp's minute attention, indeed, to every circumstance in which protection was demanded for the weak, could only be fully described by a detail which would far exceed the bounds of publication. The following letter, written at an early period of Lewis's case, will serve as an instance.

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

"Madam—John Thomas, the Negro in whose care Thomas Lewis was left by your servant Peter, informs me he has engaged himself to go to the East Indies, as servant to Capt. Dampier, and that he must leave his lodgings on Thursday; so that poor Thomas Lewis will be once more left without an adviser, to prevent his being imposed upon. I thought it necessary to apprise you of this, lest the poor ignorant lad's indiscretion should by any means frustrate your generous intention of establishing his liberty.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

* In the same manner, at the first notice which he received (on the 3d of July) of the seizure of Lewis, although his MS. states that he went *in person* for a warrant, yet, in an account which he appears to have drawn up for perusal, he merely says, "*The servants* (Mrs. Banks's) *procured a warrant* from the Mayor of Gravesend," &c. &c.

The steps of freedom in the cause of Lewis, (in the path which Mr. Sharp had laid open), are too important to be passed over without some further detail of the legal proceedings. From the minutes of the trial, preserved in the African Institution, it appears, that, after a long and minute investigation of the Negro's circumstances, Lord Mansfield put the following question to the counsel for the defendant:

Lord M. "Have you any deduction of *property?*"

Counsel. "My Lord, I can prove Lewis to have been the *servant* of the defendant."

Lord M. "I'll tell you what I think to do. The GENERAL QUESTION may be a very important one, and *not in this shape ever considered, that I know of.* If you have any title of property, I shall first of all leave it to the Jury, whether he is the property as a Slave; and then put it in some solemn way to be tried. His being black, will not prove the property." ..... "I have granted several writs of Habeas Corpus upon affidavits of masters for their Negroes. Two or three, I believe, on affidavits of masters deducing sale and property of their Negroes, upon being prest, I have granted Habeas Corpus to deliver them to their masters; but whether they have this kind of property or not, in England, has never been solemnly determined."

These speeches evidently shew the doubts which had arisen in Lord Mansfield's mind, as to the legality of any power over slaves in this country; although, from long-established precedent, he soon afterwards added as follows:

Counsel. "It was in the year 1762 that we first purchased the boy."

Lord M. "If you have any evidence of the fact you allude to, it will acquit them (the defendants)."

At the close of the examination, Mr. Dunning proceeded: "Gentlemen, I need not give you much trouble: if it had been necessary, I should have submitted what my ideas were on this kind of property; but since they have not proved the fact they endeavoured to prove, it makes it very unnecessary for me now to discuss the law. I don't

myself see what evidence there is on which the question of property can be construed."

Lord M. "Yes, there is evidence. I shall certainly leave it to the Jury to find whether he was the defendant's property or not."

Mr. D. "Then, if my Lord thinks there is evidence sufficient for the question, I shall submit what my ideas are upon such evidence, reserving to myself an opportunity of discussing more particularly, and insisting, *that no such property can exist*—which I will maintain in any *place*, and *in any Court in this kingdom;* reserving to myself a right to insist, that our laws admit of no such property*."

Lord Mansfield, in summing up to the Jury, concluded thus: "If you are of opinion he was his [the Defendant's] slave and property, you will find a special verdict, and that will leave it for a more solemn discussion concerning the right of such property in England; but if you find he is not the slave, nor property of the defendant, you will find the defendant guilty of this indictment."

The Jury brought in their verdict in these words: "We don't find he was the defendant's property." These were, of course, the words of the foreman, but there arose at the same instant a general voice of "*No property, no property.*"

Lord M. "Then you find him guilty."

A general voice from the Jury again pronounced, "*Guilty.*"

Lord M. to *Mr. D.* "You will see more in the question than you see at present. It is no matter mooting it now; but if you look into it, there is more than by accident you are acquainted with. There are a great many opinions given upon it; I am aware of many of them: *but perhaps it is much better it should never be finally discussed or settled.* I don't know what the consequence may be, if the masters were to lose their property by accidentally bringing their slaves to England. I hope it never will be finally discussed; for I would have

* Mr. Sharp, who, as it seems, was present at the trial, had here the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Dunning, as before mentioned, hold up in his hand the tract "on the Illegality of tolerating Slavery in England," having one finger in the book, to keep open a particular part.

all masters think them free, and all Negroes think they were not, because then they would both behave better*."

It is highly interesting to trace, in these circumstances, the unforeseen advance toward the ever-glorious abolition of a detestable traffic, that so long disgraced our annals.

On Monday, 17th June, the counsel for the plaintiff moved the Court for judgment on Stapylton and his accomplices; and on the Wednesday following, the application was renewed: but Lord Mansfield, expressing great doubts on the evidence, was unwilling to proceed. He even expressed surprise that Stapylton should be brought up for judgment by the prosecutrix, and added, "I should advise her not to bring him up, as she has got the Black in her possession." —The recognisances were accordingly ordered to be respited.

Against this proceeding of the Judge, as against an open contempt of the laws of England, Granville drew up a strong protest, disclaiming the refusal of judgment on the present occasion as a precedent for future ones; but "this protest," he says, "he purposes to reserve for himself, till there be an absolute necessity for disclosing it;" adding, with the complacent spirit which directed him on all occasions, "My indignation is against the practice and opinions which I have mentioned, not against the men who have promoted them; for I wish the amendment, rather than the punishment or shame, of those who do wrong."

* Minutes of the trial of Thomas Lewis, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 20th of February, 1771, in the possession of the African Institution.

CHAP. III.

THE disgusting scenes of perfidy and oppression, which the cases of Strong and Hylas had first brought to view, and the trial of Lewis had again shewn with additional force, were regarded by Mr. Sharp as in the highest degree opprobrious to his country; and, joined to a profound admiration, which his late researches had confirmed, of the constitutional system of English law, conspired to render him keenly alive to every infringement of our national faith and justice.

The name of patriotism has been given to so many various qualities, that it is neither a safe nor an easy task to apply it at present to any; yet we may readily consent to reckon among the feelings of a real patriot, the zealous desire, which the subject of this memoir entertained, of reverencing the character of an Englishman. In his opinion, it was want of truth to asperse it—it was want of religion to sully it. The warmth of his feelings on this point sometimes roused him to take an active interest in concerns very distant from the sphere in which he was so conspicuously moving.

During the period of the trial of Hylas's cause, some occurrences took place in West Florida, which appeared to him to impeach the military character of our nation in the most essential points, since the persons who had submitted to be the actors in them were soldiers in a British regiment; and he addressed the following letter on the subject to General Conway, at that time Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's Ordnance.—A relation of the events to which it alludes would be too great a digression from the purpose of these Memoirs; but the sentiments it contains are of general application, and are valuable for their dignity and sincerity.

To the Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, &c. &c.

Sept. 30, 1768.

" Right Hon. Sir,

" The enclosed account of a very perfidious transaction in West Florida was sent by me, some time ago, to my friend Mr. Wilkinson, your private Secretary, who was desired to communicate the same to you, *if he thought it of sufficient consequence;* for that I entirely relied upon *his* judgment, concerning the propriety of such an information coming from me.

" I have since received a very polite answer from him, encouraging me to lay the affair before you; and, indeed, I could not think of any Gentleman so proper as yourself to determine whether or not it may be expedient to inquire farther into the merits of this cause, in order that the authors may be duly censured.

" By your experience in the business of the state, as well as great military knowledge, you are certainly the properest arbiter, when the faith and credit of the English as a people, and the honour of his Majesty's arms, are at stake; the former having lately been shamefully broken, and the latter basely prostituted in West Florida.

" The political principles of the Governor and Council of West Florida demand your consideration more particularly at this time, because a scheme for extirpating the Indians of some parts of America is talked of (as I am informed), and earnestly recommended as necessary, with plausible reasons for the same.

" But treachery, injustice, and oppression, can never be sound policy, however recommended; and therefore it is much to be wished, that such proposals, if they should really be offered to the ministry, may be rejected with that disdain and contempt of the authors which they justly deserve.

" With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

In proportion as his mind became informed by an investigation of our constitutional rights, Granville found his scene of action continually extending. When his beloved brother, James, who was a member of the Common Council, took part in a public concern which affected the liberties of the city, he contributed essentially to assist his cause. In the spring of the year 1771, Brass Crosby, Esq., Lord Mayor of London, had given his warrant to commit a messenger of the House of Commons, who was executing his errand in the City; for which the House, in return, procured the Mayor to

be sent to the Tower. Crosby, thus become a champion and martyr in the cause of civic rights, was complimented by the various wards; and amongst them, the ward of Lime Street, to which Mr. James Sharp belonged, stood foremost, and, at his instance, presented an address replete with sentiments of legal liberty, and distinguished by its legal information and manly sense. Of this composition, with the exception of a short introductory period, it appears from the MS. Notes, that Granville was the author. The address will be found in the Appendix.

In the same year (1771), another circumstance occurred, which contributed greatly to increase the respect already acquired by his character, and is an instance of the elevation of sentiment that distinguished it; since it proves, that, with the kindness of heart which led him to the quick relief of the wretched, was mixed an equal and no less active indignation against wrong, whether offered to the highest and most powerful, or to the lowest and weakest subject of the realm.

When the Duke of Grafton was at the head of the Treasury, in 1768, during Lord Chatham's illness, an attempt was made to diminish the Duke of Portland's influence in Parliamentary elections, by an unexpected reclaim from the Crown of some lands which (in consequence of a grant from King William) had been quietly enjoyed by the Duke's family for more than seventy years, and which were very numerously tenanted. The Duke's resistance of the claim, and the investigation in Parliament of the circumstances regarding it, gave rise to the *Nullum Tempus* Act, for quieting the possessions of the subject*.

* The particulars are thus stated in Belsham's History of George III.—

"The Portland family had, in consequence of a grant from King William, possessed for seventy years the honour of Penrith, and its appurtenances, situated in the county of Cumberland. The Forest of Inglewood, and the Manor and Castle of Carlisle, being considered as parts of this grant, were quietly enjoyed by the family for several descents, under the same tenure, though not particularly specified. Sir James Lowther, the son-in-law of Lord Bute, being apprised of this omission, made application to the Crown for a lease of the premises in question; and the Surveyor-General of the Crown Land, though no lawyer, took upon him to decide that these estates were still vested in the Crown. Orders were therefore issued for a new grant to Sir James Lowther, in which the soccage of Carlisle was rated

At the early part of this business, Mr. Sharp had written several letters to the Duke of Portland, under a feigned signature, which were very favourably received; and as, after the passing of the Act, some efforts were still made to prevent the Duke from availing himself of it, he now thought himself entitled to avow his name, united with an offer of his further services.

To his Grace the Duke of Portland.

" My Lord,

" Two or three years ago, under the signature of *Amicus*, I took the liberty of transmitting to your Grace some references to statutes relating to Crown lands, which I *then* thought absolutely sufficient to secure your Grace's right of continuing in possession of the lands then claimed by the Crown; for I could not conceive that the *Nullum Tempus* doctrine would be allowed any weight in opposition to POSITIVE LAWS, because it is a maxim that *the law general must yield to the law special.* (Noyes's Maxims, p. 10.) However, as I have lately heard that it is now disputed, whether or not your Grace ought to be excluded from the benefit of the late *Nullum Tempus Act* for quieting the possessions of the subject, I have taken the liberty to enclose, for your Grace's perusal, a short tract on the general doctrine of '*Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi.*' How far the same may be applicable to the point in contest between your Grace and the Treasury Board, I cannot pretend to judge, because my information concerning that affair arises merely from common report; so that, of course, I must profess myself a stranger to the particular circumstances of the case.

at fifty pounds per annum, and the forest of Inglewood at fourteen shillings and four-pence, though in reality of immense value, and commanding an extensive election influence. When the Board of Treasury met, the Duke of Portland presented a Memorial to the Lords, in which he prayed to be heard in defence of his title. He was informed, that no step would be taken to his prejudice, till an impartial investigation had taken place. Yet, while the Duke's solicitors were searching old surveys and court-rolls, he was informed that the grant was actually completed; and, notwithstanding the caveat entered in the Court of Exchequer, the Chancellor, Lord North, affixed the seal, in pursuance of a positive order from the Lords of the Treasury. .....A Bill was, on this occasion, in the early part of the year 1768, brought in and patronised by the Opposition, under the name of the *Nullum Tempus* BILL, for quieting the possessions of the subject, and securing them from all obsolete and vexatious claims. The Minister of the Crown proposed the postponement of the Bill to the ensuing Session, which was accordingly carried. At a subsequent time, the Bill was passed into a law, and provided, that the term of sixty years of quiet possession should constitute an irreclaimable right."

"Nevertheless, as I happened, in the course of my reading the other day, to light upon a passage in Bracton, which to me seemed capable of affording a clear explanation of the *Nullum Tempus* doctrine, I thought it a duty incumbent on me to send your Grace my thoughts upon it*.

"It may indeed be said, that *Bracton* is in the hands of every lawyer, and that I ought to have known that the learned gentlemen of the law employed by your Grace are already apprised of the passage to which I refer, as they must certainly, at some time or other, have read it. Nevertheless, there is sufficient reason for me to presume that they have entirely overlooked it in the present case, and even *the Legislature* also, because the late Act of Parliament (which was made expressly to guard against the *mistaken doctrine of Nullum Tempus)* must otherwise appear *absurd* and *superfluous!* I think it necessary to premise thus much, my Lord, by way of excuse for having presumed to write to your Grace about business which don't in the least concern me, as it might otherwise be deemed impertinence to suppose that your Grace has not already the most learned advice that can be procured.

"If the little tract contains any hints that are thought capable of being enforced to your Grace's advantage, it will give me real pleasure; for, indeed, I have no greater happiness than that of being serviceable (when it lies in my power) to any man whatever, whether friend or stranger. But if, on the contrary, my arguments do not appear sufficiently conclusive to engage your approbation, yet I hope my endeavours will at least have so far entitled me to your Grace's favour, that what I have written may not be exposed to any third person whatever; and that your Grace will be pleased to return both the tract and the letter (sealed up), as soon as you have read them, lest it should by any means be known that I have interfered in a contest of this nature, which probably would give offence, as I am engaged in his Majesty's service: but howsoever such an act may be looked upon by courtiers and placemen in general, yet I am thoroughly conscious that no man can be more zealous for his Majesty's honour and *true interest* than myself.

"With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

"Old Jewry, Cheapside, 6th May, 1771."

* The MS. of the short tract, afterwards published, concerning the doctrine of *Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi;* wherein he examines with great precision the cases in which *the King's rights are alienable,* and those in which they are otherwise.

His motive for a free avowal of this nature, is given in the following extract from a letter of a later date :—" Although I am a placeman, and indeed of a very inferior rank, yet I look on myself to be perfectly independent, because I have never yet been afraid to do and avow whatever I thought just and right, without the consideration of consequences to myself: for, indeed, I think it unworthy of a *man* to be afraid of the world; and it is a point with me, never to conceal my sentiments on any subject whatever, not even from my superiors in office, *when there is a probability of answering any good purpose by it.*"

These sentiments are also entirely in unison with an expression in a letter to Lord Carysfort in 1781:—" This is the compendium or sum total of all my politics, so that I include them in a very small compass: I am thoroughly convinced that *right* ought to be adopted and maintained on all occasions, without regard to consequences either probable or possible; for these (when we have done our own duty as honest men) must, after all, be left to the disposal of Divine Providence, which has declared a blessing in favour of Right: 'Blessed are the keepers of judgment, and he that doeth righteousness at all times.' (Psalm cvi. 3.)"

The following was the Duke of Portland's answer.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" London, Tuesday June 25, 1771.

" Sir,

" I feel myself so much obliged to you for your repeated favours, that I know not what apology to offer for having so long delayed my thanks for them, except the desire of making myself master of the reasonings contained in the little tract upon the doctrine of *Nullum Tempus*. Your having forbad the communication of it to a third person, together with the right you had so to do, made it impossible for me to satisfy myself with a single perusal of it; and as I thought myself equally unauthorised to take notes or make extracts from it, it was necessary for me to read it over and over again, to be enabled to procure those advantages which it was intended to afford. This fair state of the case, and the assurance of its not having been seen by any body but myself, will, I hope,

appear a sufficient excuse for my having detained your paper, and deferred my acknowledgments till this time. I have only to repeat my thanks to you for this obliging proof of your good intentions, and for letting me know who the person was, who so properly adopted the signature of *Amicus*, to whom I am, with great regard, Sir,

" A very much obliged and obedient Servant,

" PORTLAND*."

* " When this great cause came to be argued before the Barons of the Exchequer, the late grant to Sir James Lowther was judged invalid, as contrary to the statute of Queen Anne; and Sir J. L. was accordingly nonsuited, after throwing the whole county into confusion; more than four hundred ejectments, it it affirmed, having been served by his agents, in one day, upon the subtenants and occupants of those extensive demesnes."—*(Belsham's History: George III.)*

CHAP. IV.

FROM the trials of the several Negro causes, and from the turn given by the Judge to the decision of that of Lewis in particular, it was evident, that, although a few separate verdicts had been obtained in favour of African slaves, their general right to freedom in England was still a question of fluctuating opinion. No security was yet afforded from the apprehensions justly excited by the pertinacious avarice and tyranny of the slave-dealers and slave-holders. Mr. Sharp, indeed, continued steady in his benevolent course, and, by his most indefatigable exertions and promptitude of action, several struggling sufferers were added to the list of the rescued*.

Yet, notwithstanding the successful termination of all these cases, the essential point still remained undecided. The cause had not yet been tried which was to put to rest the long-agitated question concerning the right of England to embrace within the extent of its constitutional freedom the person of every individual residing in the land, of whatever clime or country he might be. At length, the important case of James Somerset presented itself;—a case which is said to have been selected, at the mutual desire of Lord Mansfield and of Mr. Sharp,

* The liberation of three other captives, two of the name of *John Thomas* (one already mentioned in a former note), and one distinguished as *an Indian*, is found in the MS. Notes of this date, as are also several sums of money paid at different times for their support.

The rescue of one slave, (perhaps Lewis), is related by Mr. Clarkson with peculiar interest: "The vessel, on board of which a poor African had been dragged and confined, had reached the Downs, and had actually got under weigh for the West Indies. In a few hours it would have been out of sight. Just at this critical moment, the writ of Habeas Corpus was carried on board. The officer who served it, saw the miserable captive chained to the main-mast, bathed in tears, and casting a last mournful look on the land of freedom, which was just receding from his sight. The captain, on receiving the writ, became outrageous; but knowing the serious consequences of resisting the law of the land, he gave up his prisoner, whom the officer carried safe, but now crying for joy, to the shore."

History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

in order to bring to a final judgment a subject of contest, which from the benevolence of the latter so frequently occupied, and from his legal researches and abilities so much embarrassed, the courts of judicature.

The complaint of Somerset was of the same kind as in the case of Thomas Lewis, before related. He had been brought to England, in November 1769, by his master, Mr. Charles Stewart, and in process of time left him. Stewart found an opportunity of seizing him unawares; and he was conveyed on board the Ann and Mary, Captain Knowles, in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there to be sold for a slave.

Of the transactions which took place, the MS. Notes give, as usual, a brief information, and of the most simple kind.

99. "1772. Jan. 13.—James Somerset, a Negro from Virginia, called on me this morning (with the compositor whom I employ at Mr. Bigg's) to complain of Mr. Charles Stewart. I gave him the best advice that I could.

"Jan. 14.—Mr. Cade, of No. 7, Cumberland Street, Drury Lane, called on me in favour of James Somerset.

"Jan. 29.—Gave cash, 6*l.* 6*s.* to Mr. Hughes, clerk to Mr. Priddle, to retain two counsel in the case of Somerset.

"Feb. 7.—Case of the Negro, Somerset, to be argued this day in the King's Bench.

"Paid Mr. Blanchard for attending on account of James Somerset: on 24th Jan. 1*l.* 1*s.*—Copy of proceeding, 16*s.*—Transcript of proceeding in Hilary term, 5*l.* 5*s.*

No sooner was the cause undertaken, than we find Mr. Sharp actively employing every measure which he conceived likely to conduce to its prosperous issue. He put into the hands of the counsel employed on this occasion, the observations which he had written on the case of Lewis, containing a strict investigation of the legal proceedings on that trial. Yet, those observations still appearing to him

more severe than he conceived fit to be publicly made, he prefixed to the copy given to his counsel the following note:—

"*Mem.*—These remarks are merely intended to prevent this trial from being quoted as a precedent, and not to injure the character of the Judge; and therefore, as they are only in the hands of the counsel for James Somerset, the author requests that they may not be mentioned, or shown, to any person not immediately concerned in this cause, unless the same reason should make it *absolutely necessary*. For the severity of the censures herein contained could not be avoided, when facts of such a nature are mentioned; and therefore, as the point in question is a public cause, the author would be extremely sorry that there should be the least appearance of private resentment, by making these remarks more public than is absolutely necessary for the purpose intended."

The leading counsel was Mr. Serjeant Davy, who brought the case into Court before Lord Mansfield on the 24th of January, but professed the cause to be of so high importance, that he requested it might be deferred till another term, in order to give him time to prepare fully for its support. This request Lord Mansfield declined granting, but fixed the hearing for that day fortnight; apprizing Serjeant Davy at the same time, that, "if it should come fairly to the general question, *whatever the opinion of the Court might be*, even if they were *all agreed on one side or the other*, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that, from the nature of the question, he should certainly *take the opinion of all the Judges* upon it."

From this declaration, Mr. Sharp felt that he should have to contend with all the force that could be brought against him. But his resolution was not to be shaken; though his naturally unobtrusive character, and his knowledge of human nature, taught him thenceforward to avoid the appearance of regular attendance in the Court, and indeed of any degree of interference whatever in the cause itself, that he might in no wise irritate a Judge whom he conceived to be prepossessed against his attempt.

Fortunately for him in this severe struggle, his exertions on a

point of so deep and important an interest had begun not only to awaken the sympathy, but to attract the aid, of men of enlightened minds. It is grateful to remark, that on the present occasion he received the most generous offers of professional assistance.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 25, 1772.

" I am informed by a friend, that yesterday the great question concerning the powers of a master over his Negro slaves after arrival in this country, was argued in the Court of King's Bench, on the return to a *Habeas Corpus*. The interest which you, from motives of generosity and humanity, formerly took in a question of this sort, renders it probable that you may be acquainted with the circumstances of the case I have mentioned. If you are, and continue to interest yourself in the question, I shall be very ready to communicate any arguments that occur to me on the subject, with as much pleasure as if I had been retained as one of the counsel in the cause. On a former occasion, I did in a hasty way commit to writing some heads of argument, and sent them you. They are too loose and inaccurate to bear a critical examination; but I have since thought upon the subject with more precision; and, though I should be sorry to have my former communication made known to any but yourself (and therefore must request you to suppress it), yet I now shall be willing to send you a general idea of the manner in which I think the subject should be treated, expressed with more precision and caution than my former communication."

This letter was from Mr. Francis Hargrave, then rising into reputation, and since well known for his publication of the State Trials; and it is observable, from the tenour of his letter (and still more strongly from the following reply), that, although Granville directed the whole of the prosecution in behalf of Somerset, he did not profess, nor even acknowledge, his concern in it, to any but those who acted immediately with himself.

G. S. to Mr. Hargrave.

" Dear Sir, " Old Jewry, 26th Jan. 1772.

" I think myself greatly obliged to you for your kind offer of communicating

to me the arguments which have occurred to you on the subject of slavery in England. The particular case, in which my brother and myself were parties, is now at an end; so that I am no more concerned at present than every other man is in reality, or at least ought to be, for the general cause of humanity; for I apprehend, that the honour or degradation of human nature greatly depends upon the present question.

"I have enclosed a little Appendix to my former treatise on this subject, which I printed last week, in order to send to the Judges previous to the question on Friday last: though, indeed, having been written on account of a former case, tried last year in the King's Bench, it will not perhaps be understood, except by Lord Mansfield himself and those who knew the merits of that case; for I have given no names, but only hinted at facts as if they were mere *suppositions* drawn up for argument's-sake. This method I chose, because I have no dislike to the person of any man, but merely to the actions or opinions of men, where I conceive them to be wrong, and which I can more freely censure than the authors of them, without fear of occasioning any personal injury.

"The case I referred to was the King and Thomas Lewis (a Negro) against Stapylton and others. The Jury brought their verdict, That the Negro was no property, and that the defendants were guilty of the indictment. This verdict Lord Mansfield himself approved three times expressly, and yet afterwards refused to give judgment, on account of *a doubt in his mind**. I have, however, the satisfaction to find, by the minutes of what passed on last Friday, that Lord Mansfield then expressed himself more cautiously upon the point than formerly, and that he even went so far as to drop some hints of favourable wishes for the cause of the Negro.

"If his Lordship should ingenuously give up his former opinion, I shall most readily forgive him what is past; nay, I shall honour him for being so open to conviction. Nevertheless, I apprehend that arguments from any other hand than mine will be more acceptable, and, consequently, more efficacious at present; and therefore I can only thank you again sincerely for your obliging offer of communication; but at the same time, let me privately request you to make known your arguments (which I am sure, from what I have already seen, will be much to the purpose) either to the Court of King's

* See an account of this circumstance, in a letter from G. S. to Sir J. Banks, February 20, 1772, in the *Correspondence*.

Bench, or to your brethren, the professors of law in general,—or in whatever manner you think they will have most success.

"The bearer, James Somerset, is the unfortunate Negro whose cause is now before the Court; and in whatever manner you can best serve him, either as one of his counsel, to assist Serjeant Davy, or as his advocate in print (I mean in respect to the *general question*), you will certainly do a great act of private charity, as well as a public good. The hint, which I have already given you about Lord Mansfield's behaviour on Friday, will convince you, that arguments on this point cannot be produced at a more critical or more favourable time than the present.

"Enclosed, I send you the opinion of Lord Chief Justice De Grey, which he would not permit me to print, because it was given on a private case, but he acknowledged it to be his opinion, and that he was then (1769) of the same opinion*. If you desire the notes of what passed on Friday, I shall most willingly communicate them as soon as I receive my fair copy; and also some other proceedings, if agreeable to you, on similar cases, which I had caused to be taken in short-hand from the mouths of the pleaders.

"Dear Sir, with great esteem," &c. &c.

Mr. Hargrave's conduct had demonstrated that he was likely to prove too able an assistant not to be engaged with his utmost force in the cause, and his name was soon added to the list of the counsel. —The modest zeal of a professional man is expressed in the following reply.

"Dear Sir, "January 31, 1772.

"This morning I received a retainer in the case of Somerset, the Negro; and you may be assured, that no application shall be wanting on my part to conduce to that great end which you have in view. I have long formed my opinion upon the subject, and am thoroughly convinced that the state of slavery in which a Negro may be before his arrival in England, gives no title whatever to service *here*, either on the ground of property or on presumption of a contract. This opinion I shall be zealous to support; but, never having yet argued any thing publicly, I distrust my abilities to acquit myself as such

* Namely, That there could be no property in the person of a Slave, by the laws of this country.

a cause requires. On that account, my situation will be painful; though I hope, that the expectation of that indulgence of the Court usually given to persons under my circumstances, and the assurance that others who shall hear me will make the due allowance, will so far operate on my mind as to give me the opportunity of urging all the arguments which shall occur to me.

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.

"Granville Sharp, Esq." "FRANCIS HARGRAVE."

As the day for the hearing of the cause drew near, Mr. Sharp's vigilance and anxiety increased.

G. S. to Mr. Hargrave.

"Dear Sir, "Old Jewry, Feb. 6, 1772.

"I was exceedingly disappointed, when I was informed last night, that Mr. Priddle had not yet sent you a brief, nor to any of the other gentlemen. His clerk promised that copies of the affidavits and writ of Habeas Corpus should be sent to all the counsel punctually on Monday morning last. I saw Priddle himself on Tuesday, when he promised that briefs should be sent without fail the next morning. To what his behaviour is to be attributed I don't know, but I make no doubt but that you and the other gentlemen will be sufficiently aware to prevent his negligence (whether wilful or otherwise) from injuring the poor man's cause.

"With great esteem," &c. &c.

On the 7th of February the case was again brought before Lord Mansfield, assisted by the three Justices, Ashton, Willes, and Ashurst.

The cause of liberty was now no longer to be tried on the ground of a mere special indictment, but on the broad principle of the essential and constitutional right of every man in England to the liberty of his person, unless forfeited by the *laws* of England. It was opened by Mr. Serjeant Davy, with a vast mass of information on the subject of slavery, prefaced by a declaration of his intention to maintain before the Court the following proposition; "That no man at this day *is*, or *can be*, a Slave in England*."

* Some few passages only are here selected from the speeches delivered by the different Counsel, and, in particular, those points which appear from the sequel to have most influenced the minds of the Judges. The whole Minutes of the Trial, in MS., are preserved in the African

The *first* part of this proposition he established by the most substantial documents drawn from the history of our country, in which he examined the progressive state and extinction of *villenage;* and on the *second,* he took the ground of Mr. Sharp's argument, contending, that "all the people who come into this country immediately become subject to the laws of this country, are governed by the laws, regulated entirely in their whole conduct by the laws, and are entitled to the protection of the laws of this country, and become the King's subjects."

He then proceeded to notice the particular object before the Court; viz. the pretensions of Stewart to a property in his slave, according to the laws of Virginia. His reasoning on this point was unanswerable: "Either this man (Somerset) remains, upon his arrival in England, in the condition he was in abroad, in Virginia, or not. If he does so remain, the master's power remains as before. If the laws, having attached upon him abroad, are *at all* to affect him here, *it brings them all:* either *all* the laws of Virginia are to attach upon him here, or *none,*—for where will they draw the line?"

This distinction between England and its colonies, he pressed with great force:—"With regard to the laws of Virginia, do they bind here? Have the laws of Virginia any more influence, power, or authority in this country, than the laws of Japan? The King makes laws for Virginia alone, if he pleases. If he has thought proper to introduce a particular form of making laws in that country, or the Assembly makes them under the power of the Crown—as he might have granted such a charter, or any other—*that* refers to Virginia alone. He cannot make laws *here* without the consent and authority of the two Houses of Parliament. Suppose, instead of this man's coming from Africa, he had come from Turkey—Now, suppose a Christian slave brought from Turkey here—or suppose a bashaw come into this country with half a score Circassian women slaves for his amusement—suppose they should, in this case, think proper to

Institution.—*N. B.* Whatever extracts are here given, are printed *verbatim* from the copy of the short-hand writer.

say to this bashaw, 'Sir, we will no longer be the subjects of your lust;'—I believe he would make but a miserable figure at the bar of the Old Bailey, on an indictment for a rape."

He then discussed the argument of inconvenience, arising from either side of the question; and concluded by stating the authorities of various cases, in which it had been decided that no man could here be the property of another*.

Mr. Serjeant Glynn followed on the same side, and enforced very powerfully the arguments proposed by the leading counsel, particularly in the point respecting the importation of laws of other countries into our own:

"Let me put," says he, "the case seriously. What is the point in which you are to draw the line? If you admit a right acquired in prejudice of liberty, (the claim a man derives from common nature); if you permit them to raise up and bring here the laws of one country, I don't know but we must go round the globe, to find all their laws. Suppose galley-slaves were brought here,—would the master be allowed to exercise that power over them? Should they, when they set their foot on English ground, be allowed that authority, which in other countries, where servitude is in its full extent, is allowed? where the slave is in the most wretched state, and absolutely at the mercy of his master? Suppose they were to bring their slaves into England, would the courts permit the exercise of that power over them?"

At the conclusion of Mr. Serjeant Glynn's speech, Lord Mansfield, after some short questions, added: "This thing seems, by the arguments, probable to go to a great length, and it is the end of the

* The following expressions also occurred in the course of his pleadings:—"This was in the case of Cartwright, who brought a slave from Russia, and would scourge him; for this he was questioned, and it was resolved, That England *was too pure an air for Slaves to breathe in*. (*See Rushworth's Collections*, p. 468). That was in the 11th of Queen Elizabeth. I hope, my Lord, the air does not blow worse since. But, unless there is a change of air, I hope they will never breathe here; for that is my assertion,—the moment they put their foot on English ground, that moment they become free. They are subject to the laws, and they are entitled to the protection of the laws of this country, and so are their masters, thank God!"

term; so it will be hardly possible to go through it without stopping: therefore, let it stand over to the next term."

This respite gave room for fresh preparations. In the interval, Mr. Sharp, already extending his view beyond the object of the actual moment, sought anxiously such means as might tend to give permanency to the effect of the impending decision, which he considered as unavoidably about to be pronounced in his favour. Nor (consistently with the general strength of his mental character) were the measures which he adopted of any common magnitude. On the 18th of February, some days after the first hearing in the Court of King's Bench, he wrote a letter to Lord North, addressing to him arguments which, now that the infatuation of prejudice is passed away, will appear to every one to bear their full weight in the scale of reason; at the same time, enforcing them with that warmth with which a sound and virtuous mind, prompted by an ardent sense of duty, will never fail to characterise its reasonings on every topic of great interest. A copy of this letter, among his MS. papers, is thus described:—

> "Copy of a Letter, dated 18th Feb. 1772, to the Right Honourable Lord North, requesting his endeavours to put a stop to the monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness occasioned by slave-holding; also stating the due distinctions necessary to be made in the different modes of *abolishing* it at home and abroad."

To the Right Hon. Lord North, &c. &c.

"My Lord,

"Presuming that information, concerning *every question of a public nature*, must of course be agreeable to your Lordship, considering your present high office, I have ventured (and hope without offence) to lay before you a little tract against tolerating slavery in England; because the subject (being at present before the Judges) is now become a public topic; and admitting of it, or otherwise, is certainly a point of considerable consequence to this kingdom.

"His Majesty has been pleased, lately, to recommend to Parliament 'the *providing new laws* for *supplying defects or remedying abuses in such instances where it shall be requisite;*' and I apprehend, my Lord, that there is no instance

whatever which requires more *immediate redress* than the present miserable and *deplorable slavery of* Negroes and Indians, as well as white English servants, in our colonies.—I say immediate redress, because, *to be in power*, and to neglect (as life is very uncertain) even a day in endeavouring to put a stop to such monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness, must necessarily endanger a man's *eternal* welfare, be he ever so great in *temporal* dignity or office.

"Nevertheless, I don't mention this as a subject proper for Parliamentary consideration; for the laws of England (God be thanked) are sufficiently clear with respect to *slavery in this island;* and though some enormous outrages have now and then been committed by *ignorant masters,* in attempting to carry off by force their quondam slaves, yet, *if the Judges do their duty, by determining according to the laws already in force* (for, Judicandum est Legibus, non exemplis, 4 Ca. 33), there will be no necessity for the Parliament to interfere.

"And with respect to the Colonies, the pernicious practice of *slave-holding*, being tolerated by *distinct laws of their own*, cannot, with propriety, fall under the consideration of the British Parliament; for I am well aware, that no Parliament can have a just right to enact laws for places which it does not *represent*. The remedy of these notorious abuses, therefore, *rests entirely with the King and his Privy Council*, to recommend to the several Assemblies a formal repeal of those unjust laws of which I complain*.

"For this reason I have ventured to address myself to your Lordship, as his Majesty's First Minister; and beg leave to request your perusal of two or three pages only in my book, where I have placed a paper of reference, because I cannot suppose that your Lordship will be able to find leisure for the perusal of the whole†.

* The following additional passage is in another copy:

"I might allege, indeed, that many of the plantation laws (like every act that contains any thing which is *malum in se*) are already *null and void* in themselves, because they want every necessary foundation to render them *valid*, being absolutely contradictory to the laws of reason and natural equity, as well as to the laws *of God;* yet as many of them (to the disgrace of the English name) have been long in force, and have had the *formal assent* of Kings, they will require a *formal repeal* by all the parties, in order to preserve, in each branch of the legislature, that reciprocal faith, which is due to all solemn compacts."

† The passages referred to are thus noticed in the MS. Notes:

"February 18, 1772.—Wrote to Lord North (the premier), with my tract against tolerating slavery in England, and a paper of references to a law of Barbadoes, whereby a man may wantonly or bloody-mindedly, or with cruel intention, kill his Negro servant, and be liable to no penalty, except 15*l.* to be paid into the public treasury. This, and some other such laws,

"I have also sent another book, on the same subject, lately printed at Philadelphia, which, amongst other things worthy notice, contains some sensible propositions for *abolishing Slavery in the Colonies.* (See pages 138 and 141.) And that your Lordship may see the *absolute necessity* of such a measure, I have likewise sent a short, lively representation in MS. of the present state of Slavery in Maryland, extracted from a letter (dated in November last) from a Gentleman in that province.

"With great deference and respect," &c. &c.

"Old Jewry, 18th February, 1772."

Another feature of Mr. Sharp's character was here disclosed, if indeed some signs of it have not already appeared—that calm but fearless spirit, which was so highly exemplified in the conduct of the Archbishop throughout his life, and had been fully transmitted to his grandson.—Dependent on the Government for the situation from which he derived his maintenance, he nevertheless presented his remonstrance to the First Minister without restraint and without distrust.

In consequence of the virtuous conduct which he was now determinately pursuing, he had a second time experienced the gratification of finding that he had awakened a desire of sharing his labours, in the breast of a man with whom an union could not fail to be acceptable. This was Dr. Fothergill, whose name has already appeared in these Memoirs. Although in their correspondence they had differed essentially on topics of religious interest, and both spoke and maintained their sentiments with the most deliberate openness,

I marked with red ink, as also my observations on them, that 'this was the most consummate form of wickedness of which a legislature was ever guilty;' and also (in page 72), that 'if such laws are not absolutely necessary for the government of slaves, the law-makers must unavoidably allow themselves to be the most cruel and abandoned tyrants upon earth, and, perhaps, that *ever were* on earth: but, on the other hand, if it be said that it is impossible to govern slaves without such inhuman severity and detestable injustice, the same is an invincible argument against the least toleration of slavery among Christians, because temporal profits cannot compensate the forfeiture of everlasting welfare;'—that 'the cries of these much-injured people will certainly reach to Heaven;'—that 'the Scriptures denounce a tremendous judgment against the man who shall offend *one little one;*'—that 'it were better for the nation that their American dominions had never existed, or even that they had sunk in the sea, than that the kingdom of Great Britain should be loaded with the horrid guilt of tolerating such abominable wickedness,'" &c. &c.

yet such was the equal candour of minds alike devoted to the practice of real Christianity, that an entire variance of religious opinions had no influence whatever in restraining their most cordial co-operation in acts of mercy.

While the pleadings on the important question of Somerset's cause were yet in expectation, Dr. Fothergill received from America an abridgment of the tract "on the Injustice of Slavery," together with other matter, by an author with whom the reader will shortly become acquainted. He immediately sent the work to Mr. Sharp, who returned the following answer.

To Dr. Fothergill.

"My fellow-labourer, Mr. Benezet, has very judiciously extracted the very marrow of my book. The other extracts (from Mr. Wallis, Dr. Foster, &c.) are so concise, and yet so full and unanswerable, especially on some points where our lawyers stick, that I wish, if it were possible, to procure copies for *three* (if not twelve) *judges*, and for *four counsel*. I would reprint them, if there was time for it; but as next Friday is the day of hearing, it is impossible, because the Counsel ought to have the copies a day or two before. I would make an apology for my request, was I not well assured that both Mr. Benezet and yourself will esteem the occasion for which the copies are wanted as much your own affair as mine.

"The bearer, James Somerset, is the Negro whose cause comes on next Friday, and who will be the proper person to present to his Counsel what copies you may be able to procure.

"With sincere esteem," &c. &c.

A short note from Mr. Sharp, on the day after the first hearing, shews the result of this application:

"8th February, 1772."

"G. S. returns Dr. Fothergill many thanks for the books, which he distributed to the Counsel, and sent one by the Negro to Lord Mansfield.

"G. S. will take the liberty of sending the minutes of what passed, for the Doctor's perusal, as soon as he receives the copy from his short-hand writer. There are two or three more Counsel yet to speak on the Negro's side, before the opponents begin."

In the interval that ensued between the first and second hearing of the cause, a new and unexpected assistance was offered to these fellow-labourers in the work of mercy: Benezet's publication was gratuitously reprinted in England, by a person who delighted more in doing good than in courting applause.

G. S. to Dr. Fothergill.

"Sir, "April 18, 1772.

"I send you, a copy of the pleadings last term in behalf of James Somerset.

"I have great satisfaction in finding that Mr. Benezet's book (of which you favoured me with so many copies) is now republished. Who the Editor is, I don't know*; but am persuaded that his motives for the republication at this time were humanity and charity. The copies which you were so obliging to send me, were given to the four Counsel for James Somerset, and to Lord Mansfield; and if I was sure that the Editor has not sent copies to the other Judges, I would have some bound neatly for that purpose immediately. The 7th of next month is fixed for the continuance of the argument.

"With respect and esteem," &c. &c.

Dr. Fothergill, in reply.

"Respected Friend,

"I have perused the arguments of Counsel on Somerset's affair with satisfaction, and wish the event may be favourable to public liberty.

"As many and great expenses must have attended this controversy, I shall be very ready to contribute my mite towards them; and when the affair is terminated, go which way it may, I shall be pleased with an opportunity of conferring on this matter, and doing every thing in my power to lessen the difficulties of the burthen by dividing it.

"Thy respectful Friend,

"Harpur Street, 2d Inst." "JOHN FOTHERGILL."

It may be seen from the MS. Notes, that Mr. Sharp, although he did not (as before) attend the trial of Somerset in person, yet furnished the expenses of it; but whether Dr. Fothergill's liberal offer of participating in them was accepted, is not any where ascertained.

* The name of this benevolent man will appear in the next chapter.

One expense, however, it was not permitted to either of these benevolent men to take on himself. Mr. S. relates, in a letter to his friend Benezet (which will afterwards appear), "that the four eminent Counsel," whom he first retained, "declined accepting any recompence for their professional exertions;" and there can be no doubt of an equal disinterestedness on the part of Mr. Hargrave, who made a voluntary offer of his services. They felt too strongly the virtuous patriotism of the man by whom they were called to this great cause, to allow of any remuneration from him: they listened attentively to his suggestions, and imparted gratuitously the aid of their talents and learning.

The letter addressed to Lord North, is not known to have produced any particular notice from the person to whose feelings it appealed. The cause of Somerset, however, proceeded. On the 9th of May, the question was again brought before the Court, on the broad and general ground "*Whether a Slave, by coming into England, becomes free?*"

On this second hearing, the pleadings in favour of Somerset were resumed by Mr. Mansfield, who, in a speech of strong sense and expression, contended, that if the Negro Somerset was a *man*—and he should conclude him one till the Court should adjudge otherwise—it was impossible he could be a slave in England, unless by the introduction of some species of property unknown to our Constitution. He considered the dispute as between one human creature, the Master, and another, the Negro, *whether the latter should be entitled to the important rights which nature had given him.* He was stated by the Master to have been a slave in *America;* but how did that prove him a slave in *England*, where no such condition of men exists? "From all that can be drawn from the state of Africa or America" (said the Orator), "the Negro may very well answer—'It is true, I was a slave; kept as a slave, in Africa. I was first put in chains on board a British ship, and carried from Africa to America: I there lived under a master, from whose tyranny I could not escape: if I had attempted it I should have been exposed to the severest punishment: and never, from the first moment of my life to the present time, have I been in a

country where I had a power to assert the common rights of mankind. I am now in a country where the laws of liberty are known and regarded; and can you tell me the reason why I am not to be protected by those laws, but to be carried away again to be sold?'—To hear a Negro state that argument" (he continued), "and have it answered, *consistently with our laws,* seems to me to be impossible; for, on the contrary, he is as fully and clearly entitled to the protection of those laws, as every one who now hears me."—After a learned investigation of the laws of other countries, he concluded by expressing his conviction that the alteration which had been attempted in the laws of England, by the introduction of a new species of slavery, was so prodigious and important, and would require so many and various regulations, that it would be far beyond the extent of any power that could legally exercise it, except the legislature itself. "But I hope," he added, "such a kind of slavery will never find its way into England; and I apprehend, that, by your Lordship's decision, this man will receive his liberty."

At the end of Mr. Mansfield's speech, it appears that the cause was further adjourned to the 14th of May.

Mr. Hargrave then followed, and stated, that the claim of Stewart, agreeably to his return to the Habeas Corpus, was founded on the condition of slavery in which Somerset stood before he was brought into England: "and if that right," he said, "is here recognised, domestic slavery, with its horrid train of evils, may be lawfully imported into this country, at the discretion of every individual foreigner or native. It will come, not only from our own colonies, but from those of the other European nations; from Poland, Russia, Spain, and Turkey; from the Coast of Barbary, from the Western and Eastern Coasts of Africa, from every part of the world where it still continues to torment and dishonour the human species."—He then entered into an investigation—1st, of the right claimed by Stewart in the person of the Negro; and, 2dly, of the authority by which he assumed a power of exercising that right. In this examination he took a view of the history, the condition, and the consequences of slavery;

asserting, that, "in whatever light we view it, it may be deemed a most pernicious institution, *immediately* to the person who suffers it; *finally* to the master who triumphs in it, and to the state which allows it."—Having traced its origin and its decline in Europe, he continues: "Such was the expiring state of domestic slavery in Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the discovery of America, and of the Western and Eastern Coasts of Africa, gave occasion to the introduction of a new species of slavery. It took its rise from the Portuguese, who, in order to supply the Spaniards with persons able to sustain the fatigue of cultivating their new possessions in America, particularly the islands, opened a trade between Africa and America for the sale of Negro slaves. This disgraceful commerce in the human species is said to have begun in the year 1508, when the first importation of Negro slaves was made into Hispaniola, from the Portuguese settlements on the Western Coast of Africa. In 1540, the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, endeavoured to stop the progress of the Negro slavery, by an order that all slaves in the American isles should be made free; and they were accordingly manumitted by Legasca, the governor of the country, on condition of continuing to labour for their masters. But this attempt proved unsuccessful; and on Legasca's return to Spain domestic slavery revived and flourished as before. The expedient of having slaves for labour in America, was not long peculiar to the Spaniards, being afterwards adopted by the other Europeans, in proportion as they acquired possessions on that continent. In consequence of this general practice, Negroes are become a very considerable article in the commerce between Africa and America; and domestic slavery has taken so deep a root in all the American colonies as to afford little probability of its total suppression." He then proceeded to examine the attempt to obtrude this new species of slavery into England, and to demonstrate that the Legislature of England had not been so short-sighted as not to have set up a sufficient guard against its introduction. He then examined the ancient laws of villenage in England, the only form in which any state approaching to slavery had ever existed here; and demonstrated, that, villenage

having gradually expired in England, the introduction of a new slavery, under the name of villenage, or any other description whatever, is sufficiently provided against." [*The remainder of this speech is wanting in the short-hand copy* *.]

Mr. Alleyne closed the proceedings on the same side. He examined the necessary distinction between *natural* rights and *municipal* rights; the one of which attaches to men in whatsoever country—the other ceases as soon as men leave the country where they were bound to observe them. The right of slavery, not being from nature, could not, of course, be brought from another country. "*Natural* relations are inherent in the *state of things*, and no human power can restrain it. It necessarily arises from the relation a man bears to mankind in general, and his moral duty is inferred from it. He cannot therefore change his natural relations; they are universal. *Municipal* relations are such as are formed from his being a member of this or that particular country, where they attach. It appears, that by the laws of Virginia this man is a slave; but I submit that the laws of Virginia extend to Virginia alone. In this country, how does this man stand as a slave, where the meanest have a title to enjoy the rights of freedom? This man is *here:* he owes submission to the laws of England, and he claims the protection of those laws; and as he ceases to be a citizen of Virginia, and stands in no such relation *now* to Mr. Stewart, so he is certainly not bound to him; and therefore he stands, like any other man in this kingdom, entitled to his freedom."—He concluded by submitting, from the conviction of his mind after an elaborate research, that a claim of slavery cannot be supported in England; "and when," he adds, "the judgment of this Court is given, Stewart, as well as the rest of the slave-holders, will know, that when they introduce a slave into this country, *as a slave*, this air is too free for him to breathe in."

The pleadings for the Negro were here closed.

* The reader may supply the deficiency by referring to Mr. Hargrave's speech on this occasion, as printed at length in his Collection of the State Trials, vol. xi.

Mr. Wallace appeared on the side of Stewart, whose claims he defended with great ability, demonstrating his quiet and legal right to the slave by the laws of Virginia, and arguing forcibly the inconvenience, absurdity, and injustice of divesting a man of his rightful property, only because he sailed, in pursuit of his lawful business, from one country to another.

Mr. Dunning was the other counsel on the same side. The choice made of this gentleman, appeared singular to those who remembered the energy with which, in a former cause, he had professed himself ready to assert, in any Court of England, that *no property could here exist in a slave.* He was about to begin, when Lord Mansfield observed, that it was now late in the day; and the Court wishing to rise, he proposed to Mr. D. a farther adjournment to that day se'ennight; and at the same time stated his opinion of the point on which the question hinged, in the following manner.—

"There was a topic suggested by Mr. Alleyne, I thought very material for the consideration of the Court, and that is, whether the law of a *foreign* country is or is not to be adopted in *this?* Supposing slavery (as undoubtedly we must take it) to be law in America, and *that* law stands on a foundation sufficient to support it, and that now there is no system of law in England with regard to it;—the question is, whether the foreign law is to be adopted; and if it is, the law of America stands on the same ground as any other country. There are several countries where slavery is like our *villeyn regardant.* I am not master of the subject enough to say for certain; but I apprehend that in Russia and Poland there are vast numbers *regardant.* If a Pole should come here with one of those slaves;—whether, in any question between them, they should or not adopt the law of their own country, arising from the relation in which they stood to each other in that country,—*that,* I think, is very well worth considering; because the conclusion may follow, If the law ought to be adopted in the relation in which they stood to one another before they came here, to be sure that was *master and slave;* but if that law is not to be adopted here, then the other consequence will follow, because there is no other

means of introducing it."—He then adverted to the distinction which Mr. Alleyne had made between local and natural relations, "which," he repeated, "I think very material."

Mr. Dunning having expressed his desire of acceding to the proposed adjournment, Lord Mansfield added, "If the merchants think the question of great consequence to trade and commerce, and the public should think so too, they had better think of an application to those that will make a law. We must *find* the law: we cannot make it."

On the 21st, Mr. Dunning spoke on the side of Stewart with his usual ability, pleading his professional duty as superseding all opinion on either side*. He insisted on the danger and inexpediency of freeing the numerous Negroes in England, and on the unchangeable relation of master and servant, which, as being for the universal interests of society, must subsist alike every where. On this point he laid the whole stress of his argument. Mr. Davy's reply closed the pleadings.

Lord Mansfield abstained from giving judgment on the same day: it may justly be doubted whether he did not still feel some degree of reluctance to decide on the *general question*. It is certain, that he twice threw out a suggestion that "the master might put an end to the present litigation by manumitting the slave." But it is of no small importance to the invaluable cause of freedom, which was then agitating, to observe the change that had been gradually wrought in the mind of so enlightened a lawyer. The arguments used by the Counsel, *might* be *professional* only: Lord

* Mr. Sharp's opinion on this point will probably have little weight with lawyers, but it should not be withheld from the public. After noticing the passage in the trial of Stapylton in which Mr. Dunning made the remarkable assertion before mentioned, he says; "and yet, after so solemn a declaration, he (Mr. Dunning) appeared on the opposite side of the question (against James Somerset) the very next year! This is an abominable and insufferable practice in lawyers, to undertake causes diametrically opposite to their own declared opinions of law and common justice."—Mr. Dunning's professional apostacy was, in this instance at least, harmless; for he was unable to maintain his ground, and his arguments were overthrown by Mr. Davy's reply.

Mansfield's reflections had no bias. The influence of arguments founded on truth had been felt, and his conviction was thus expressed by himself:

"I did think, in the beginning, to have put this afterwards in a more solemn way for argument before the Court; but I think I should do an injustice to the parties, and an injury to the several Courts of Westminster Hall, to have it litigated, in case we should have no difference on the point.

"It has been extremely well argued, and so fully argued, that I think there cannot possibly be raised a new light upon it. I am very glad to see young gentlemen rise at the bar, who are capable of reading so much to advantage*. We are *glad of the information given at the bar*. It has thrown a great light upon the question; and when it comes to be determined, the rule for deciding will lie in a very narrow compass. We know every thing, and it will not stand on a large field."

It appears, from several observations of the different Counsel, that the Court had been crowded to excess during the whole of the pleadings. Many persons attended from natural concern in the cause of humanity,—and these appear to have been the largest part of the assembly. "It is my misfortune," said Mr. Dunning, "to address an audience, much the greater part of which, I apprehend, wish to find me in the wrong." Others attended from curiosity, and some from motives of self-interest; for a question, put by Lord Mansfield to Mr. Wallace, brought a disclosure, that Stewart was backed, and his expenses supported, by the West-India merchants in general.

The expectation of all parties was now raised to the utmost pitch, when finally, in Trinity term, on Monday the 22d of June, "The Court proceeded to give judgment in the *case of Somerset the Negro, then before the Court, on the motion of the Habeas Corpus.*"

Lord Mansfield first stated the return; then spoke to the following purport:—"We pay due attention to the opinions of Sir Philip

* Lord Mansfield probably alluded to Mr. Alleyne and Mr. Hargrave, who were then young men, and very earnest in the cause.

Yorke and Mr. Talbot, taken in the year 1729, whereby they pledge themselves to the West-India planters for the legal consequences of slaves coming here, or being baptized. This opinion was solemnly recognised by Lord Hardwicke, sitting as Chancellor, June 9, 1749, to this effect: 'That there had been a prevailing opinion in the Colonies, that baptism was an emancipation of a Negro slave, and that, in consequence of coming here, such slave became free; but he was satisfied there was no ground for the opinion; and he and Lord Talbot had so expressed themselves upon a cause referred to them for their opinions, when Attorney General and Solicitor General. They had given it all the consideration that the subject could require, and he was satisfied that neither baptism nor coming to England, made any alteration in the temporal state of the slave;—that the Statute of the 12th of Charles II. ch. 24, had abolished *villeins regardant;* but if a man was solemnly to confess himself a *villein in gross,* he knew of no law which could possibly prevent the operation of such confession.' We have likewise paid due regard to the many arguments urged at the bar, of inconvenience; but we are all so clearly of one opinion upon the question before us, that *there is no necessity to refer it to the twelve Judges.* The question is, Whether the captain has returned a sufficient cause for the detainer of Somerset? The cause returned is, that he had kept him by order of his master, with an intent to send him abroad to Jamaica, there to be sold. So high an act of dominion must derive its force from the law of the country; and if to be justified here, must be justified by the laws of England. Slavery has been different in different ages and states. The exercise of the power of a master over his slave, must be supported by the laws of particular countries; but no foreigner can in England claim a right over a man: such a claim is not known to the laws of England.

"Immemorial usage preserves a positive law, after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it has been forgotten; and, *tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law.*

Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged*."

The ever-memorable result of this trial is thus noticed by Mr. Sharp:

MS. "June 22d.—This day, James Somerset came to tell me that judgment was to-day given in his favour.

"Somerset was the last Negro whom G. S. brought before Lord Mansfield by writ of Habeas Corpus; when his Lordship declared, as the opinion of all the Judges present, that the power claimed by the master 'never was in use here, nor acknowledged by the law; and, therefore, the man, James Somerset, must be discharged.' Thus ended G. Sharp's long contest with Lord Mansfield, on the 22d of June, 1772 †."

* "In this manner," to use the words of Mr. Clarkson, "that the true will and intention of the laws of England on the important question might be the more solemnly ascertained, the cause was fully and deliberately argued" at four several sittings of the Court, (Feb. 7, May 9, 14, 21); and so clearly were the Negro's rights demonstrated by the abilities of the counsel, that, although Lord Mansfield had declared, at the commencement of the trial, that, '*whatever might be the opinion of the Court*, he should think it requisite, from the general and extensive interest of the subject, to take the opinion of *all the Judges* upon it;' yet, in passing sentence, he declined that reference, and gave his decision without a remaining doubt.

Among Mr. Sharp's papers are the following "Remarks on the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench, in the Case of Stewart and Somerset, by G. S."

"The conclusion of Lord Mansfield's speech contains substantial and unanswerable reasons for the judgment he was about to give. He expressed, in two short sentences, that the master's claim was contrary to three powerful foundations of the English law; viz. *Nature, Use* or *Custom*, and the *Written Law*; which last includes two other foundations, viz. *Maxims* or *Statutes*. With respect to the first, he said, 'Tracing the subject to *natural* principles, the claims of slavery never can be supported.' With respect to the second, that 'the power claimed never was in use here;' and thirdly, 'that it was never acknowledged by the law.'

"These seem, then, to have been the reasons of the determination; and, consequently, the Court was obliged, by the common law, to discharge the man: so that the true meaning of the determination is rendered clear and incontrovertible, as well by the effects of it as by the unanswerable reasons adduced."

† We may learn to appreciate in some measure our obligations to Mr. Sharp for this arduous *contest*, from a consideration of the following singular circumstance. It appears, that, in the beginning of his researches in the cause of English personal freedom, he had found and noted the following passage in Blackstone's Commentaries:

"And this spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our constitution, and rooted even in our very soil, that a Slave, or a Negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection

The judgment thus pronounced by Lord Mansfield has established the following axiom, as proposed by Mr. Serjeant Davy:—

AS SOON AS ANY SLAVE SETS HIS FOOT ON ENGLISH GROUND, HE BECOMES FREE.

—A sentence to be engraved for ever on our hearts.

The part taken by Mr. Sharp in the conduct of this cause, and the tribute of praise thence due to him, have been so eloquently expressed in the "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," that it would be wronging both the historian and his subject to state the conclusion in any other words than his own.—

"Thus ended the great cause of Somerset. The eloquence displayed in it, by those who were engaged on the side of liberty, was perhaps never exceeded on any occasion; and the names of the Counsellors Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne, ought always to be remembered with gratitude by the friends of this great cause. For when we consider in how many crowded

of the laws, and, with regard to all national rights, becomes *eo instanti* a freeman."—*Commentaries*, Book I. p. 123.

This passage being quoted on the trial of one of the Negroes, (I believe, Hylas), was triumphantly repelled by the opposite Counsel, who produced in court the volume of Blackstone from which the quotation was made, but in which no such unqualified assertion was to be found. In that volume the passage referred to stood thus: "A Negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman; though the master's right to his service may *possibly* still continue." This circumstance amazed, though it did not daunt, the steady mind, which had directed the proceedings. Mr. Sharp returned to his books; and finding that the quotation was correctly taken from *his* edition of the Commentaries, which happened to be the *first*, he began to suspect that some change had been introduced into later editions. On examination, it appeared that Dr. Blackstone had, himself, during the process of these trials, (see Letter in Appendix), corrected the passage in the manner stated in court, (in which I find it also in the fifth edition, 1773). The inconsistency of this doubtful conclusion on so important a point of English law, is properly noticed by the Editor of the last publication of his Commentaries.

Thus, had it not been for the perseverance of Mr. Sharp in bringing the question to a final issue, our law, as far as it could be influenced by an opinion of one of the best writers on it, would have left in doubt whether the Constitution of England did or did not secure the personal liberty of all her subjects! The glorious decision of the point by Lord Mansfield is wholly owing to Mr. Sharp's firm, resolute, and intrepid prosecution of the cause *to the end*.

courts they pleaded, and the number of individuals in these whose minds they enlightened, and whose hearts they interested in the subject, they are certainly to be put down as no small instruments in the promotion of it. But chiefly to *him*, under Divine Providence, are we to give the praise, who became the first great actor in it; who devoted his time, his talents, and his substance to this Christian undertaking; and by whose laborious researches the very pleaders themselves were instructed and benefited. By means of his almost incessant vigilance and attention, and unwearied efforts, the poor African ceased to be hunted in our streets as a beast of prey. Miserable as the roof might be under which he slept, he slept in security. He walked by the side of the stately ship, and he feared no dangers in her hold.—Nor ought we, as Englishmen, to be less grateful to that distinguished individual, than the African ought to be, upon this occasion. To him we owe it, that we no longer see our public papers polluted by hateful advertisements of the sale of the human species*; or that we are no longer distressed by the perusal of impious rewards for bringing back the poor and the helpless into slavery; or that we are prohibited the disgusting spectacle of seeing man bought by his fellow-man. To him, in short, we owe this restoration of the beauty of our constitution, this prevention of the continuance of our national disgrace."

To this eulogium of Mr. Sharp, is to be added one tribute more, to the jurisprudence of England. The world had seen, with the most grateful sensations, men of the highest talents and consummate legal knowledge gratuitously striving in defence of injured human rights, and united with no other rivalry than to try who should best plead the cause of the helpless. Nor could it contemplate with less respect, a chief magistrate of the first court of English judicature laboriously

* This execrable practice was not, however, at once wholly abolished. For several years afterwards, rebels to humanity were still to be found. The following advertisement was sent to Mr. Sharp in 1782, copied from a Liverpool newspaper.—

"*Liverpool, Oct.* 15, 1779.—To be sold by auction, at George Dunbar's office, on Thursday next, the 21st inst. at one o'clock, *a Black Boy, about fourteen years old, and a large Mountain Tiger Cat.*"

attentive to arguments which controverted his own former proceedings, and, in the end, deliberately establishing a judgment opposite to them—in behalf of humanity*.

* It is surprising, and to posterity will appear hardly credible, that the force of prejudice was so great in the enlightened nations of Europe at the time of these events, that the advocate of an injured race, separated from those nations only by the sea, and distinguished from them only by a darker tinge of skin, thought it requisite to institute a regular inquiry, *whether the natives of Africa were men*—so unwilling was their unwearied champion to leave in the field the smallest point against them unassailed. A correspondence with the learned Jacob Bryant on this subject will be found in the proper place. The following is Mr. Sharp's apology for writing to him:—" I am far from having any particular esteem for the Negroes; but as I think myself obliged to consider them as *men*, I am certainly obliged also to use my best endeavours to prevent their being treated as *beasts* by our unchristian countrymen, who deny them the privileges of human nature, and, in order to exercise their own *brutality*, will scarcely allow that Negroes are human beings. The tracing their *descent*, therefore, is a point of some consequence to the subject on which I am now engaged, for their defence."

He has left also some very learned remarks on Mr. Bryant's Analysis relative to the same topic. See Appendix.

On the same subject, likewise, are some marginal notes on p. 33 of an History of Jamaica by Mr. Estwick.—See Appendix.

CHAP. V.

THE solemn and irreversible decree which had been issued in favour of Negroes in England, was attended with the utmost exultation among the anxious friends of human happiness. The general sense and feeling of the English people had long before decided the cause, and their conscious joy burst forth on occasion of the present triumph. The name of Granville Sharp became the emblem of charity: he stood the acknowledged and victorious patron of African liberty. Like the inspired deliverer of the Hebrews, he had brought captives out of the house of bondage, and given them to taste the milk and honey that flowed in a land of freedom.

In consequence of these events, a new and enlarged field of action was about to be opened to his talents and his philanthropy: his efforts in behalf of an oppressed race were now to be seconded in another hemisphere. The numerous and respectable body of Quakers in North America had for many years been making various efforts to alleviate the condition of slaves in several provinces*; and, when the news reached them of the favourable verdicts obtained in the cases of Strong and other Negroes in England, they immediately felt a desire of communicating with the author of these successes, and of co-operating with him in his meritorious labours. His tract "on the Injustice of Slavery" was procured, and an abridgment of it (as has been mentioned) published from their own press in Philadelphia; and numerous copies of it were dispersed, by every means

* A General Epistle from the *Yearly Meeting* in 1754, declares it to be the "concern" of the body of *Friends* to bear testimony against the iniquitous practice of slave-dealing, and to warn their members against making any purchase of Negroes. Another Epistle, to the same effect, was issued by the Yearly Meeting of London, in 1758.

in their power, as widely and expeditiously as possible. The final decision on the trial of Somerset confirmed their respect for the champion of the cause.

The most cordial interchange of friendly sentiment now commenced between men, who, strangers, and far distant from one another, were alike earnestly labouring in the same benevolent attempt; and the intercourse which followed led to the most unexpected results.

On the memorable day which terminated the cause of Somerset and established the rights of all Negroes in England, Mr. Sharp received the first offering of a correspondence, instituted for the sole object of forwarding the deliverance of African and other slaves, but tending also, in its progress, to render him a partaker in the great political strife between Great Britain and her Colonies. His correspondent was ANTHONY BENEZET, a highly respectable member of the society called Quakers, in North America. He had established a free-school at Philadelphia for the education of Black People, and he took every opportunity which his situation gave him of pleading in their behalf*.

A congeniality of spirit had singularly united these two philanthropists, before any correspondence was opened between them. In the copy, found in Mr. Sharp's library, of one of Benezet's works, is the following marginal note in manuscript.—

* He published several treatises against slavery, and he finally gave a hearty proof of his attachment to the cause of the slaves, by leaving the whole of his fortune in support of that school to which he had devoted his time and attention. His works are,

1. "*A Description of Guinea, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, &c.*"

2. "*A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies; in a short Representation of the calamitous State of the enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions.*"—This book was transmitted by the General Meeting of Quakers in Philadelphia, to the Meeting in London, with a request that it might be reprinted here, and put into the hands of the several Members of Parliament; which was accordingly done: Six hundred copies were sent to the Members of both Houses. "This was done," says Benezet, "with a view to forward the design of a national inquiry."

3. "*Short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes.*"—See Mr. Clarkson's Preface to his Prize Essay "On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African," 1785.

"The author of this book, as printed at Philadelphia in 1762, was Mr. Anthony Benezet, of that city; descended of a French family, which forsook (and lost very considerable property in) France for the sake of their religion; so that the present Mr. B. is obliged to earn his bread in the laborious office of a schoolmaster, and is also unhappily involved in the errors of Quakerism: nevertheless, he has a very large and extensive acquaintance, and is universally respected, not only among the whole body of Quakers, (Dr. Fothergill, and Dr. Franklin, having been his correspondents), but also by all others who know him.

"When G. S. was involved in the first law-suit, to defend himself against a prosecution for having set a Negro slave at liberty, in 1767, he accidentally met with a copy of this book on a stall, and, without any knowledge whatever of the author, caused this edition to be printed and published, having added thereto an account of the endeavours of 'the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' to instruct the Negroes at New York, with two of Bishop Gibson's Letters on that subject; to which G. S. added also a Conclusion, by the Editor*.

"In 1769, G. S. having nonsuited his prosecutors, was at liberty to print his representation of 'the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery,' which he had drawn up during the proceedings against him; and it is remarkable, that Mr. Benezet reprinted that tract at Philadelphia, without knowing that the author had paid the same compliment to his former work in 1767."

Mr. Benezet's first letter, and the reply to it, will serve to shew the progress of Mr. Sharp's thoughts and actions, in regard to the important measures on which he was now consulted; and they will at the same time disclose an unforeseen connection of interests, which gradually led him to espouse the cause and plead the rights of the colonists in their struggle with the British Cabinet.

* In order to guard against any arguments that might be urged in favour of slavery from the Bishop's letters, wherein he seems to admit the legality of slave-holding.

Anthony Benezet to Granville Sharp.

"Esteemed Friend Granville Sharp, "Philadelphia, 14th 5th Mo. (May), 1772.

"I have long been desirous to advise with such well-minded persons in England, who have a prospect of the iniquity of the Slave Trade, and are concerned to prevent its continuation. And I should have been well pleased to have wrote to thee thereon, had I known how to direct; particularly as I had taken the freedom to republish but a part of thy acceptable, and I trust serviceable, treatise. But now, having a good opportunity, I make free affectionately to salute thee, and to send thee some copies of a treatise lately published here on that iniquitous traffic, giving the best account of its origin, progress, &c. which we have been able to procure. I doubt not but it may be amended by some more able hand on your side the water. We esteem the whole of thy treatise to be very instructive, and much to the matter; nevertheless, it was thought, from the general disposition of the people here, that their attention was most likely to be drawn to it, if limited to that part which immediately concerns *us*. I trust the generosity of thy heart will excuse the freedom we have taken in abridging it, even though thou should not quite approve of our reasons for so doing. It is certainly incumbent on every lover of God and man to use their best endeavours that a stop may be put to this unnatural and barbarous traffic, as well on account of its dreadful effects on the poor Negroes, in the devastation it occasions in their country, the destruction and intolerable suffering it entails on those who remain in bondage, and their offspring; but yet much more so in the case of their lordly oppressors, the people of the West India and southern colonies, to whom this dreadful evil will, in its consequences, extend beyond time, even in the regions of eternity, by hardening their hearts, so that they and their offspring become alienated from God, and are hastening to a state of greater and more deeply corrupt barbarity, than that from whence our northern progenitors sprung, before their acquaintance with Christianity.

"My friend, J. Wesley, gives me expectation he will consult with thee about the expediency of making some weekly publication, in the public prints, on the origin, nature, and dreadful effects of the Slave Trade; which appears absolutely necessary, as many well-minded people, who may have some influence, are ignorant of the case; and also because way may thereby be made for a farther attempt towards the removal of this potent evil; to which, we think, nothing will so effectually conduce *as a representation to the King and*

both Houses of Parliament. This is what we have a right to do, and what will at least be a testimony on the behalf of truth. Indeed, we cannot be at the same time *silent* and *innocent* spectators of the most horrid scene (if rightly considered, in itself, and in its consequences) that was, perhaps, ever acted upon the face of the earth. I have wrote to several of the principal persons amongst our Friends, the Quakers, on this head; earnestly requesting they would consider, whether, as they were better acquainted with the prodigious iniquity and dreadful consequences attendant on this practice, and had so publicly, in their general Yearly Epistle to their churches, every where declared their abhorrence of it, it was not their duty, either as a people, or by their principal members, to endeavour the removal of it by such a representation. I have also mentioned the matter, and sent some of the last and former treatises, to our agent, Benjamin Franklin, who, I know, has a due sense of its iniquity and evil consequences, and would, I am persuaded, use his influence in endeavouring that an end should be put to the trade. I have the more hopes of the good effects which may attend an immediate application to the King, from a paragraph in our newspapers of this month, stating, 'that a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the East-India Company in Bengal was originally proposed by a Great Personage, who was much shocked with the account he received of the oppression exercised over the poor natives.' Will any thing less than such an application excuse us to God, the common Father of mankind, when inquisition is made for the blood of so many thousands and tens of thousands, may I not say hundreds of thousands, of our fellow-men (*i. e.* our neighbours, whom we are by the Gospel enjoined to love as ourselves) so unjustly shed, and yet shedding daily, by our nation? What shall we do when God riseth up, and when he visiteth? What shall we answer him? Did not He that made them make us, and did not One fashion us in the womb? I beg and earnestly entreat, by the mercies of God, that this matter of an application to the King and Parliament may be weighty with you—by those mercies, that each of us shall ere long, and perhaps very soon, recur to, when we shall have, with the greatest joy or grief, to remember that mercy is, with the blessing, promised to the merciful, and fulness of heart to those who truly hunger and thirst after righteousness. The mode of such a representation you may much better judge of than we can pretend to point out. I doubt not but thou wilt, upon inquiry, find more well-minded people ready to cry you 'Good speed' in this weighty service, than you are aware of. The most solid amongst all Dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians, would be well pleased to see an end put to the Slave Trade, and many, to slavery

itself. The people of New England have made a law that nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, and, I am informed, have proposed to the Governor and Council that all Negroes born in the country should be free at a certain age. I know the flood of impiety and selfishness, which, as a torrent, seems to overflow, will be a great discouragement; but let us remember, that the Lord's power is above the power of darkness; his hand is not shortened, that he cannot save by few, as well as by many.

"The people of Maryland and Virginia are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not all of the iniquity, of any farther importation of Negroes, that a prudent person, who spent some time in these provinces, tells me, he thinks ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to the Parliament against any further import. As, perhaps, the danger of increasing the number of Negroes in the island and colonies may have influence on the Government to prohibit any further import, it may not be amiss to observe, that, by a late computation, there are about eight hundred and fifty thousand Negroes in the English colonies and islands. In Jamaica alone, by the poll-tax in that island for the year 1768, it appears, that there were then 166,914 *taxable* Negroes—doubtless there were enough more, who either eluded the tax, or who were not taxable, to make up two hundred thousand—and, by the best account I can obtain, (not many more, if any,) but fifteen thousand Whites; and the trade for slaves still carried on with such vigour, that we have reason to conclude there is still yearly at least an hundred thousand violently brought from Africa, by the English alone: these are employed to make some new settlement, as in the islands Tobago, St. Vincent, &c.; also, to make up deficiencies, and to sell to the Spaniards.

"I remain thy Friend,

"ANTHONY BENEZET."

"I shall take it kind if thou wilt send me a few lines in answer."

G. S. to Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia.

"Old Jewry, London, August 21, 1772.

"Dear Sir,

"You need not have made an apology for having abridged my book. It is a sufficient satisfaction to me to find that you thought it capable of doing some service in a cause which we have both of us so much at heart.

"I not only approve, Sir, of the abridgment you have made of my arguments in particular, but of your whole performance. Some copies of it

arrived here very opportunely, just before the cause of James Somerset came to a hearing in the Court of King's Bench; and, by Dr. Fothergill's kindness, I was enabled immediately to dispose of six: one to Lord Mansfield, the Chief Justice; one to Lord North, first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and four to the learned Counsel, who had generously undertaken to plead gratis for Somerset. I had thought indeed of reprinting it, as I did your former tract in 1768, but Mr. Clark, the printer, was luckily before-hand with me; so that I had an opportunity of purchasing what more copies I wanted to distribute.

"I send you a copy of your own book, as reprinted here, and some other pamphlets lately published on the subject; with a few little tracts of my own, of which I beg your acceptance, as a small token of my esteem. I have likewise sent a copy of the judgment given by Lord Mansfield in the case of Somerset. This judgment would have done Lord Mansfield honour, had he not all along seemed inclined to the other side of the question. After the second day's argument, before any judicial determination was given, he advised the West-India merchants to apply to Parliament while it continued to sit, and Mr. —— accordingly made a motion in the House for securing property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom. However, he did not succeed; but it is apprehended, that he and the other West-India merchants will use their utmost endeavours to carry their point next sessions. It is on this account that I have now undertaken to write once more upon the subject, in order to apprise disinterested people of the dangerous tendency of such a measure; and I shall endeavour to prepare what few friends I have in Parliament, for an opposition to such a destructive proposal, in case it should be renewed. My former tracts were built chiefly on the laws of England; but my present work is for the most part *founded on Scripture*, to obviate the doctrines of some late writers and disputers, who have ventured to assert that slavery is not inconsistent with the Word of God.

"I had thoughts once of addressing myself to the Bishops and Clergy, in order to show them the necessity of uniting their influence and interest on this occasion; but I have since had an opportunity of throwing this business upon the Archbishop of York*, whose application to his brethren, the Clergy, would certainly be effectual, if he should think such a measure likely to be attended with success. I have the satisfaction to be informed, that he is become a

* Dr. Drummond.

zealous advocate for the freedom of the Negroes, and is desirous of doing every service to the cause that he can.

" Your proposal of petitioning Parliament is certainly very proper, if the subject of the petition be confined to the African Slave Trade, (which is protected and encouraged by Parliament); but, *with respect to the toleration of slavery in the colonies,* I apprehend the British Parliament has no right to interfere; and that your petition on this head should be addressed *only to the King, or to the King in Council.* My reason for this opinion I wrote at large, in a letter to Lord North; a copy of which I enclose, because I think our brethren of the colonies can't be too much upon their guard with respect to the dignity and independence of their own Assemblies in this point. My letter was indeed a private one, and, therefore, if you should think proper to communicate it, it will be right to suppress the name of the nobleman to whom it is addressed.

" You mention the information you have received from Maryland and Virginia, that ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in petition to Parliament against the further importation of Negroes. Such a petition would retrieve, in some respects, the honour of those colonies, and be a glorious proof that they are not destitute of Christian and social principles; and it would probably lay the foundation for a total prohibition of that most abominable branch of the African trade, the buying and selling of men. Yet, as I have mentioned above, respect must be had to *the rights of the Colonies;* and a petition from thence, *if addressed to Parliament,* ought to relate to the *Slave Trade* (with its bad effects and consequences) *in general,* and not merely to the importation of slaves into the colonies, because the colonies have a right *themselves* to prohibit such importation respectively in their own Assemblies, with the King's concurrence; which they will be sure to obtain in this matter, if it is asked by a majority.

" With respect to a petition to Parliament against *the Slave Trade in general,* if you could procure even less than a tenth part of the lowest number of petitioners mentioned in your letter, I should think it a very considerable point gained; as it would afford an excellent argument against the pretended necessity of holding slaves in the colonies, which is always alleged as the reason of the encouragement given by Parliament to the African trade. A petition also to the King, from a small number (if a larger number, or a majority, cannot be obtained), against the *toleration of slavery in the colonies,* might have very good effects; for though it would not be likely to succeed in the whole,

yet it might at least occasion the setting on foot some wholesome regulations, by way of restraint on the masters.

" I am told of some regulations that have taken place in the Spanish colonies, which do the Spaniards much honour, and are certainly worthy of our imitation, in case we should not be so happy as to obtain an entire abolition of slavery; and probably you will find many American subjects that would be willing to promote such regulations, though the same people would strenuously oppose the scheme of a total abolition of slavery.

" Be pleased to inform me, whether you shall be likely to procure any such petitions or memorials as are mentioned above; because I would endeavour to prevail on some of the Bishops to present the memorials that are for the King; as also on Sir George Saville, or some other respectable member of the Lower House, to present the petitions to Parliament. Yet this matter will require good consideration, because the business is certainly in the regular channel when conducted by your own agent.

" Lord Dartmouth, who is lately appointed secretary for the colonies, is esteemed a humane and religious man, and his mediation with the King and Council might probably be very efficacious, were he applied to from your side of the water, by way *of memorial accompanying the petition, &c.*, if signed by any respectable number of American subjects; and then the business would be in a regular track. I need not assure you, Sir, how much you have my good wishes for prosperity and success in your benevolent undertakings, and that I shall always think myself happy in lending what little assistance may happen to be in my power.

" With great esteem," &c. &c.

From these letters, Mr. Sharp's active exertions in the cause of African freedom appear not only to have given fresh zeal to the humane endeavours of the Quakers in America, but to have been the means of collecting their benevolent, but ill-combined, measures into a regular and effective method of procedure.

The tract " on the Injustice of Slavery," and the dispersion of it throughout America by Benezet and other zealous Quakers, during the course of three successive years (from 1769), had already produced the most powerful effects. The House of Burgesses in Virginia sent a petition to the King, dated 1st April, 1772, wherein they

implored his Majesty's paternal assistance in averting "a calamity of the most alarming nature." "The importation of Slaves," they said, "into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions." In some other Colonial Assemblies it had either excited or strengthened an earnest wish to abolish slavery as well as the Slave Trade.

His reply to Benezet was no less cordially welcomed: copies of it were every where circulated through the provinces, and were read with the utmost avidity. His instructions were received with deference, and the distinctions which he pointed out, with regard to the mode of petitioning against the different objects of their complaints, were regarded as rules for further procedure.

The progress and effects of his correspondence with the zealous Benezet will be presently shown, from a manuscript which he (many years afterwards) drew up and presented to the President of the African Institution, and in which he gave a summary account of the result of his public efforts.—But it is first requisite, in order of time, to mention some further circumstances which had occurred, regarding the property in slaves in England.

1772.

By the judgment delivered in the cause of Somerset, a slow but fatal wound had been given to the infamous traffic in a large portion of the human race. It was evident, that the penetrating mind of Lord Mansfield had not failed to perceive, at an early advance of the trial, the extensive consequences of the principle which he was himself about to establish. With the circumspection, therefore, that became the guardian of the property and rightful claims of British subjects, we have seen him, at the close of the second day's sitting, recommending to the West-India merchants to be on their guard respecting the consequences of the proceedings then carrying on, and suggesting the expediency of their applying for advice to Parliament during its actual session.

A motion was accordingly made in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the securing of property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom. The motion was overruled. The hopes of the slave-dealers, however, survived; nor was the diligence of their opponents abated, as will appear from the following letters.

G. S. to Dr. Fothergill.

" Sir, 27th October, 1772.

" The West-India merchants, traders, and other interested persons, have formed a considerable association, to promote a Bill at the next meeting of Parliament for the toleration of slavery in this kingdom, in order to counteract the late clear decision of the Court of King's Bench in favour of James Somerset and of the Negroes in general.

" The slave-holders' Bill, I apprehend, will be something to the same effect as Mr. ———'s* motion, that was overruled last year; viz. ' for securing property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom.' I should not have taken the liberty of writing to you on this subject, had I not conceived so great an opinion of your humanity as to suppose that you would choose to be apprised of such a dangerous scheme, in order that you may raise all the opposition against it that you possibly can, among your friends.

" If Mr. ———'s motion should ever pass into a law; other laws, still more unjust and cruel, must be made to enforce and assist that law, as in all other places where slavery is tolerated. It is necessary, therefore, that all persons, who sincerely regard the welfare of this kingdom, should use their utmost interest against this association of slave-holders, in order that their wretched scheme may once more be overruled; and I hope that more than five, or even fifty, righteous persons may yet be found in this great city, to oppose the measure, and declare their detestation of it in a just petition against the Bill.

" Mr. Benezet is endeavouring to procure signatures in Pennsylvania and Maryland, to a petition against slavery.—With great esteem," &c. &c.

Dr. Fothergill, in reply, to G. S.

" Harford Street, 8th inst.

" ..... I have not been inactive in the affair. I am assured of a person,

* I have omitted the name of the mover in this and the preceding letter, because every one must, in Christian charity, suppose him to have wished the circumstance to be forgotten,

who will have considerable influence in this business, let it come before Administration which way it will.

"Let my want of leisure be no obstacle to thy informing me frequently of any thing wherein I can be of use. I shall not wait for such information, if an opportunity offers of rendering service to those who are the object of every honest man's care and attention, because they have been grievously oppressed, and are farther threatened with accumulated suffering.

"With much respect," &c.

Mr. Alleyne to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "January 13, 1773.

"At any time that you can spare an hour, I should be very happy in seeing you on the old subject of the slavery of the Negroes. There is now a Bill passing for the horrid purpose of legitimating the dire relation of master and slave in England. It must, and shall be opposed. I wish for the favour of your appointment, and will punctually wait on you when and where you please.

"Your affectionate humble servant," &c.

The result of these mutual preparations is not noticed. Granville's vigilance was roused, but the alarm subsided*.

His attention, nearly at the same time, had been called to some transactions of which the connection with the events just related is obvious. They were such as involved the general concerns of humanity and the national character of England.

By an investigation which took place in Parliament, in November 1772, on the subject of the Caribbees in St. Vincent's, (one of the neutral islands ceded by France to Great Britain at the last treaty of

* The following sentence, in a letter from G. S. to his brother Dr. J. Sharp, may probably refer to the Bill in question.

"As it has pleased God that the Negro slaves have had a solemn decision of the court in their favour, the West-India slave holders have attempted to evade it, by binding their Negro servants to them as apprentices when they bring them to England. But the law will not endure such an evasion! The servant being in slavery, is incapable of entering into any contract with his master, for the same reason that *a contract made in prison* is suspected of *duress*, and is therefore null and void."

peace), it appeared, that very considerable disagreements had arisen, concerning some territorial distributions, between the new settlers and the remaining portion of the aboriginal possessors. At an early period of the contest, Mr. Sharp's indignation was excited by a report of its being the intention of our Government to extirpate the latter.

"The French," he says, in a letter to Dr. Fothergill, "attempted in vain to subdue the Caribbees of St. Vincent's, and yet had the assurance to cede the whole island to the English, though they possessed but a small part of it; and the English, lest they should seem less adroit in Machiavelian policy than their Most Christian neighbours, are now about to enforce their title with fire and sword. Suppose, by way of comparison, that the French should think proper to cede Great Britain to the King of Prussia; should we think this a sufficient reason for acquitting the latter of robbery and wilful murder, if he were to come, by virtue of such a title, to measure out and divide our land, and to butcher every English freeholder who should presume to assert his own prior right?

"But the Caribbees possess some of the finest land in the whole island for growing sugar-canes, and therefore—we ought to extirpate them! Again, they claim more land than they possess, and are so insolent as to endeavour to preserve all that they claim; so that we *have a right* to make war upon them, and take by force not only all that they claim, but even all that they possess! Besides, they were so presumptuous, about three years ago, as to oppose the King's troops, when sent to take possession of their lands without their leave!

"I have carefully attended to the allegations against the Caribbees, and cannot really make out, on the whole, any better meaning of them, when stripped of their sophistical dress, than what I have here said in plain English. I do not recollect that the English annals are stained with so glaring an instance of national injustice, since Ireland was ceded by the Pope to King Henry the Second; but the ignorance and bigotry of those dark times afford

an excuse for Henry, which cannot be allowed in the present instance*."

* "The island of Saint Vincent, one of the neutral islands ceded by France to Great Britain by the last treaty of peace, was in great part occupied by a race of yellow Caribbs, accounted the aboriginal possessors of the entire chain of the Greater and Lesser Antilles; and it was calculated, that, reduced as they were in number, they could still muster, within the narrow limits of St. Vincent's, more than a thousand fighting men.

"The French settlers had long lived on terms of peace and amity with this remnant of a once great and powerful nation, who are represented as a quiet inoffensive people, subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing; and, though no stipulation was made in favour of them by the Treaty of Paris, instructions were transmitted also from the English Court that they should not be molested in the possession of their lands. Many of the French, however, choosing to remove to the French islands, and having disposed of their plantations to English adventurers, these new settlers, perceiving that the most fertile districts of the island were in the hands of the Caribbs, made repeated representations to the Government at home, requesting that the Caribbs might be dispossessed of those lands, as they reaped no benefit from their superior fertility, and that other lands might be bestowed on them in exchange, in the island or elsewhere, as should be thought expedient. The arguments urged for this aggression were, the great advantages which would arise from the sale of these lands to the Crown, and the danger of neighbours so much attached to the French. These reasons at length prevailed; and, early in the year 1768, orders were issued by the Board of Treasury for the survey and disposal of the lands possessed by the Caribbs, for which they were to receive a compensation in money, and in other lands allotted to them in the distant and mountainous part of the island ....."

"But this brave people, animated with a love of liberty, and passionately attached to their native woods and savannahs, resolved to assert their rights, and to maintain them to the utmost of their power. In reply, therefore, to the English Commissioners, they stated, that the whole island was originally their property; that the French, by their permission, had settled on a part of it; and that their king might doubtless dispose of that part as he pleased: but they were not his subjects, and he could not grant the lands which they had reserved for themselves, and which they now finally refused to give up or exchange.

"The English Commissioners, regardless of these remonstrances, proceeded with their survey, advancing roads into the heart of the Caribb country. The Caribbs, though greatly irritated, contented themselves with destroying the new roads, and burning the huts built for the use of the surveyors.

"The Caribbs were now represented to England as daring and incorrigible rebels, and it was proposed to transport them to Africa: but the Government, unwilling to proceed to such extremities, renewed their proposals for the exchange of lands, which was rejected with firmness; the Caribbs at the same time refusing to take any oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, or to any other sovereign. In consequence of this contumacy, two regiments were ordered to embark from North America, to join those already at St. Vincent's; which, united with the naval force on that station, were to proceed to reduce the Caribbs to submission, or to drive them from the island."

Belsham's History of George III. vol. i.

"Posterity will learn with indignation, that the sales and allotments of land I have mentioned, gave rise to a war with the Charaibes; in the course of which it became the avowed intention

The reflection of more sedate moments produced the following letter to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom Mr. Sharp was apparently a stranger. His reliance, next to the justice of his cause, was on the high character of this nobleman, whom he had represented to his friend Benezet as *a humane and religious man;* and in this he was not mistaken.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth, his Majesty's Secretary of State.

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, 10th October, 1772.

" A truly conscientious man is seldom to be met with in this corrupt age; yet I am much misinformed if the reality of that character is not supported by your Lordship. With this persuasion, I venture to address your Lordship upon a subject of no small concern, I apprehend, to yourself, *as a conscientious man* in office; and, though I have certainly no right to interfere, being only a private individual, yet as my motive, I trust, is unblameable, I rely on your Lordship's general character that you will not be inclined to charge me with impertinence for what is at least *well-intended.*

" A friend of mine, lately returned from the ceded Islands, informs me, that a considerable body of his Majesty's troops are ordered to St. Vincent's, to act against the natives (who are descended from a mixt race, between African Negroes and the ancient Caribbee Indians); and from his knowledge of the country and climate, he assures me, that ' the consequences will, probably, be *fatal,* not only to the poor wretched Indians (who, it seems, have given no just cause of offence),. but must inevitably *be fatal also* to a great number of brave officers and men of the King's troops, before the latter will be able to accomplish this (I may say) dishonourable service;—that, besides the unwholesomeness of the climate, which our men will have to combat with, they will find the Indians a very rude and stubborn enemy, when exasperated by injuries and rendered desperate. The French experienced the valour of these people, when they once attempted to enslave them; and, after the loss of a great number of troops, they were obliged at last to give up *the wicked undertaking,*

of Government to exterminate those miserable people altogether, or, by conveying them to a barren island on the coast of Africa, consign them over to lingering destruction."

Bryan Edwards's History of West Indies, vol. i. book iii. chap. 3.

in which their wretched policy and abominable injustice had engaged them.—But I ought not to dwell only on the *difficulty* of executing the present project, since the justice or injustice of the cause should be the principal point in consideration among Christians.

" The possessions in dispute were held by the present proprietors many years before the late peace, when the island was ceded to England; and as our present claim is founded on that cession, we cannot possibly make out the least title to *the lands of the Indians,* because the French could have no right to cede what did not belong to them—the property of a people who owed no obedience, nor acknowledged allegiance to their Government. They might as well have pretended to cede to us the Seven United Provinces, as the possessions of this little united body of Indians, whom they *could never conquer:* so that these Indians were absolutely *independent* of the French Government, and consequently independent of the English Government also. The only right that the French could possibly give us, by that cession, is an *exclusive right against themselves,* in case they should ever attempt hereafter to conquer the independent Indians, in order to establish themselves."

[He here refers to a report sent from St. Vincent's to the Lords of the Treasury, about four years prior, relating the opposition of the Caribbees to the surveying and measuring the island by the King's troops, whom they threatened to charge if they advanced any further; telling them, that they were welcome, if they came as friends, but that they would never suffer the English to measure and take possession of their lands. " The English had too small a force to attack them; and the Indians, though the stronger party, behaved with civility when the English desisted from measuring; so that there was no bloodshed." The report, he says, expressed " a very unreasonable indignation against the poor Indians, though it appeared, that the most civilized nation could not have acted with more moderation and propriety."]

" At that time, indeed, I had not the least fear of any bad consequences to the Indians; because I trusted that his Majesty's Ministers in general would be so well acquainted with the *law of nations,* and the unalterable principles of *natural justice,* that they would never be liable to hearken to such insinuations. But what must I say, now that the intentions of Administration are known? For God's sake, my Lord, if you are really the *conscientious man* that I believe you to be, inquire strictly and carefully

into this matter, as it is now in your proper department; and if you find that there are any just grounds for what I have advanced, I think I may rest assured that you will use your utmost endeavours to stop all further proceedings against the Indians, that the *credit of our nation* may not openly be stained by the horrid crimes of *unjust oppression*, robbery, and premeditated murder; and that such complicated guilt may not occasion the withdrawing of God's blessing from the King's family and this kingdom.—I have already mentioned the great uncertainty of success in the present undertaking against the Caribbees; but let me add, that even a victory, in so bad a cause, will load the English Government with indelible shame and dishonour. The credit of our Ministers must sink to the hateful level of politicians whose principles are baneful to human society, and must necessarily, therefore, be detestable before God and man. The blood that will probably be spilt on both sides, must *somewhere be imputed:* for *open and avowed injustice*, and wilful murder, cannot be vindicated before God by any deceitful sophistry about the necessity of such measures to produce the nation's good, or to maintain the prosperity of our colonies; because good and evil can never change places, and because *we must 'not do evil that good may come.'*

"These are the *first* and most *fundamental principles of Government:* so that statesmen and politicians, who thus venture to dispense with them, ought to be reminded, that such measures not only accumulate a national, but a *personal* guilt, which they must one day *personally* answer for, when they shall be compelled to attend, with common robbers and murderers, expecting an eternal doom; for the nature of their crimes is essentially the same, and God is no respecter of persons.

"I am very well aware of the arguments that will be advanced to defend this unjust measure; and I am sufficiently prepared (I hope) to answer them, that is, *privately in writing*, to your Lordship, whenever you shall think proper to honour me with your commands.

"With great deference and respect, my Lord," &c. &c.

In reply to this letter, Lord Dartmouth wrote to Mr. Sharp, requesting to see him the next day. He accordingly waited on his Lordship; and, in this interview, it is not to be doubted that he urged every argument in favour of the injured Caribbees with his usual energy and manly sense. In fact, he appears to have made a

strong impression on the mind of the amiable nobleman to whom he had so fortunate an opportunity of exposing his sentiments*; and it may be presumed, that, in the hands of so just and benevolent a mediator, his plea for national faith was not unavailing†.

We may now proceed to the Manuscript account of the correspondence with Benezet (subsequent to the first two letters.)

MS. "On the 3d of January 1773, G. S. received Mr. Benezet's second letter, dated 8th November 1772, enclosing extracts from the minutes of the Assembly of Virginia, in April 1772, against the toleration of the Slave Trade; and signifying his hopes of succeeding in procuring such petitions as were recommended in G. S.'s letter of the 21st of August; stating also, that he will send copies of that letter to Virginia and Maryland, and that an eminent lawyer, to whom he had communicated it, had undertaken to draw up suitable forms of petitions."

"In a third letter, dated 18th February 1772-3, Mr. Benezet says, 'I made out several copies of such parts of thy letter as were likely to promote the good end proposed. These were sent to Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland, to such persons as had the

* "To my Lord Dartmouth I wrote several letters, against the oppression exercised in the colonies, and more particularly against the monstrous iniquity of sending an armed force to dispossess the poor Caribbees at St. Vincent's. I have since had the honour of a conference with his Lordship; when I found he had no hand in promoting that expedition; and I obtained his promise that he would speak in behalf of the injured Caribbs, if he should have any favourable opportunity."—G. S. to A. Benezet, 7th July, 1773.

† "At this period, Mr. Alderman Trecothick, M. P. for London, made several Motions in the House of Commons, for inquiring into this unjust expedition; all of which were negatived by a large majority. The public feelings were beginning to be greatly awakened, when intelligence arrived, that, after several encounters, in which our troops had suffered severely, a treaty of peace was at length concluded with the Caribbs. By this treaty they were confirmed in their ancient possessions, with the exception of certain districts to be surrendered to the Commissioners appointed by his Britannic Majesty, whom they recognised as rightful sovereign of St. Vincent's, and consented to hold their lands as a grant from him."

Belsham's Hist. of George III.

matter at heart, with all the additional strength in my power, in order to encourage their taking the most effect.' In the same letter he adds, 'We have pushed the point among ourselves,' (the people of Pennsylvania), 'by handing about extracted copies of thy letter, the Virginian Petition, &c.' To which he adds, 'And our Assembly meeting about the same time, we put forward a petition to be laid before them, of which I herewith send thee a copy. This was freely agreed to by all the clergy of every denomination, and other weighty members in society: scarce any but gave their cordial assent. If time would have allowed, I am persuaded we might have had ten thousand signers. The Assembly concurred with the proposal, and appointed a short time for the second reading. Nevertheless, they have not thought it expedient to comply with the petition, but, as a preliminary, have thought it best to frame a Bill, augmenting (*i. e.* in favour of the Crown) the duty upon the Negroes from ten to twenty pounds. I have also sent an extract of thy letter, of the Virginia Petition, &c., to some weighty members of three different counties in New-York Government, and the same to two counties in New Jersey, &c.'"

(All these transactions appear to have taken place in the end of the year 1772. The letter is dated the 18th February, 1773.)

MS. "On the 25th May, 1773, G. S. received a fourth letter from Mr. Benezet, dated 29th March, signifying, that, 'in consequence of the Philadelphian Petition, mentioned in his last letter, the Assembly had laid a further duty on slaves (and made it perpetual) at 20*l.* per head; and that they apprehended that the passing or refusal of this law by the *King and Council*, will better enable them to judge what further steps to take, with respect to making head with the *King and Parliament that the Slave Trade may be put an end to*."

"On the 7th of June, 1773, G. S. received a fifth letter from Mr. Benezet, dated April 5th, wherein he informs him, that an opposition to any further importation of slaves in the northern colonies

appears to be *an increasing concern;* and even the putting an end to slavery itself, is endeavoured for in New England; and the Assembly has proposed, or intends to propose, a law for setting all Negroes free at a certain age, and declaring those to be imported in future, free, either at their landing, or after some short time of service, &c.'

"By a sixth letter from Mr. Benezet, in the same year (1773), G. S. received a copy of the Pennsylvanian Petition, and of the Act of Assembly which passed in consequence of it; together with a request to give intelligence to his friends in America, by the return of the same ship, whether any notice had been taken by the British Government of the Virginia Petition, and the Acts of the Pennsylvanian Assembly for laying a duty on Negroes. This letter was not received till the beginning of January 1774. On the 7th of that month, G. S. waited on Lord ——, the Secretary of State, at his house on Blackheath, to make these inquiries. His Lordship informed him, that nothing further had been done relating to the Virginia Petition; and as to the Pennsylvanian Act of Assembly, (a copy of which G. S. then presented to his Lordship), he promised to take particular notice of it when it should be transmitted to his Majesty. He did not recollect that he had yet seen it.

"G. S. then took the liberty of exclaiming very earnestly against the iniquity of attending to political or mercenary pleas for tolerating slavery and the Slave Trade, as being notorious instances of doing evil that good may come, and that we have therefore the greatest reason to expect some dreadful judgment on the kingdom, for tolerating such monstrous wickedness. The truly worthy and conscientious Nobleman, by his behaviour and conversation, seemed most heartily to detest the unnatural traffic.

"In May 1774, G. S. received a seventh letter from Mr. Benezet, dated March 16th (delivered by Mr. William Dillwyn, from Philadelphia.) Among other things, Mr. B. repeats that the 'importation of Negroes, and indeed slavery itself, receives all the discouragement that can be expected in these northern colonies; and some in the

more southern are also sensible of the danger and destructive tendency of the increase of slaves among them.' But, 'except some check,' he continues, 'can be put *with you* to the importation of slaves from Guinea, I fear little will be done.'

"'Our Assembly,' he also signifies, 'will be induced to petition the King against any further importation of slaves from Africa; also to pass a law declaring all Negroes in future to be born free.' 'Thy remarks, in favour of such persons as think it their duty to protect such slaves as have escaped from their masters, with the law-reasoning on the case, afford me uncommon satisfaction. I trust they will be made use of to profit in these parts.'

"Also, 'The Assembly at New York had lately passed a law declaring the children of slaves to be born free, but it was not confirmed by the Governor*.'"

The correspondence with Benezet, if it did not inspire, at least confirmed and enlarged Mr. Sharp's desire of inquiry respecting the general subject of the African Slave Trade. It conducted his view to an examination of the *source of the evil*, and he conceived the vast design of extending his endeavours gradually, and of augmenting and strengthening his means, until he should obtain an entire abolition of the infamous traffic carried on by Great Britain and her colonies.

In justice then, and no less in honour, to the memory of the pious but humble Benezet, let it be remembered, that, although his zealous labours failed to eradicate from his native soil the evil which he deplored, they contributed to strengthen the arm of the great champion of his favourite cause, and finally to wipe away no small portion of human disgrace.

A further account of the concurrence of Mr. Sharp's efforts with those of the American Quakers will be seen from one of his letters to the Bishop of London in 1795. This extract will be the

* The continued opposition of the British Government to such just proposals, is severely censured in a remark of a later date annexed to this extract, as are also the Americans for having "fallen away from their former righteous principles."

more acceptable, as it takes a short review of the principal concerns which have been already related with regard to the Negro causes, and extends at the same time to others, which will presently succeed to notice.

" My Lord,

" An accidental circumstance, about thirty years ago, led me to vindicate a poor Negro boy (without having the least apprehension of the extraordinary consequences) before the chief magistrate in London; by whose authority the boy was released from the Poultry Compter, where he had been illegally confined in order to be shipped a slave for the West Indies. This release drew upon me a prosecution, by a Jamaica planter, for 200*l.* damages; whereby I was compelled (though I had engaged the best advice that the profession could afford me) to study the law in my own defence, in order to oppose a joint opinion of the late Lords Hardwicke and Talbot, given in 1729, which my attorney brought to me, in order to show the hopeless state of any defence against the impending action; urging also the constant practice of the Court of King's Bench under Lord Mansfield, who strenuously persisted in delivering up all run-away slaves to their masters. These formidable difficulties produced a very serious anxiety for my own case, which fairly superseded my natural aversion to researches in law books; and the action being held in suspense over my head, from term to term, for about two years, I was enabled in that time, by a careful examination of the first principles of law, to demonstrate the extreme injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery, and of admitting the least claim of private property in the persons of men, in England; whereby, not only my antagonist was nonsuited, but the same doctrine was also effectually urged to relieve many other poor Negroes from slavery.

" The tract which I had drawn up and printed in 1769, was soon afterwards reprinted in America, by Mr. Anthony Benezet, a worthy old Quaker at Philadelphia, whose other publications had already begun to awaken the attention of the Americans to the injustice and danger of tolerating slavery.

" In April 1772, the Assembly of Virginia stated, in a respectful petition to his Majesty, the great inhumanity of the Slave Trade, and their fears that 'it would endanger the very existence of his Majesty's American dominions.'

" This warning was very remarkable, if we consider from whence it came,—from the first colony the English ever had in America, which had not long been

involved in the English guilt of tolerating slavery; and it was still more remarkable in the *event*, for the American Colonies existed a very little time longer as dominions of his Majesty: so that this Virginian warning against the Slave Trade is fairly entitled, *by the event*, to be deemed prophetical, especially as the doctrine of the remonstrance was just and true*.

"In the same year, 1772, Lord Mansfield very candidly gave up his former opinion and practice, respecting the supposed legality of delivering up runaway slaves to the masters, and reversed the joint opinion of the Lords Hardwicke and Talbot, in giving judgment on the case of Somerset, a poor Negro whom I supported against the claims of his master.

"About the same time, or soon afterwards, the freeholders and inhabitants of the counties of Somerset and Essex, in New Jersey, presented petitions to the Governor, Council, and Representatives of the province, against the Slave Trade. By the petition from the latter county, the Assembly was requested 'to obtain an alteration of his Majesty's instruction to his Excellency the Governor relating to the African Trade, so that his Excellency may be at liberty to consent to such laws for the preventing the future importation of Negroes into this province as to the Legislature may appear just and reasonable.' The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia also petitioned their Assembly against the Slave Trade, expressly citing the example set them by the province of Virginia in petitioning the King, 'From a deep sensibility of the danger and pernicious consequences which will be attendant on a continuation of this iniquitous traffic.'

"But the Assembly of Pennsylvania, suspecting the partiality for slavery on this side of the Atlantic, postponed their address to the Throne, and, instead of it, transmitted an Act of Assembly for the King's assent, whereby they laid a heavy duty on the head of every slave that should be imported; hoping that the gain of an American tax (for which in all other cases Administration were so remarkably sanguine), might, perhaps, overbalance that partiality which they justly suspected. But they were unhappily mistaken, for this seasonable attempt to discourage the crying national sin was rejected: so that the guilt of persisting in that monstrous wickedness demands indeed an atonement, or repentance, but not from America†.

* "The refusal of the British Government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves from among them by law, was afterwards enumerated among the public reasons for separating from the Mother Country."—*Clarkson's Hist. of the Abolition.*

† In a letter of still later date, to the Duke of Richmond, he adds, "The Assembly at New

"Soon afterwards, I was desired, by a letter from America, to inquire for an answer to the Virginia Petition; and I waited on the Secretary of State, and was informed by himself, that the petition was received, but that he apprehended no answer would be given.—*Thus I had traced the evil to its source.*"

The events above related were the first connecting incidents which served to combine in Mr. Sharp's mind the cause of the Negro slaves with the political negotiations of our state towards America, where his name was now generally beloved and admired, and an acquaintance with him was sought, as with the great advocate for the sacred cause of freedom. "I am glad," says Benezet, in a letter dated 5th of April, 1773, "to understand from my friend Benjamin Franklin, that you have commenced an acquaintance, and that he expects you will in future act in concert in the affair of slavery."

The following letter is a specimen of the feeling excited towards him, among the friends of human liberty in America.

Dr. Rush to Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Philadelphia, May 1, 1773.

"From the amiable character which I have received of you, from my worthy friend, Mr. Anthony Benezet, I have taken the liberty of introducing myself to your correspondence, by sending you a pamphlet, entitled 'An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America.' It was written amidst many interruptions, from a business which admits of but little leisure for studies or pursuits of that nature—I mean the profession of physic. Few of the arguments are new; and yet I have endeavoured, by their conciseness, to give them new force. A spirit of humanity and religion begins to awaken, in several of the colonies, in favour of the poor Negroes. The clergy begin to bear a public testimony against this violation of the laws of nature and Christianity. Nothing of consequence, however, can be done here, till the axe is laid to the root of the African Company.—Great events have been brought about by small beginnings. Anthony Benezet stood alone a few years ago, in opposing Negro slavery in Philadelphia; and now three-fourths of the province,

York found such another Bill, and the Assembly of North Carolina proposed sending a Petition to the King of the same purport as that of Virginia.

as well as the city, cry out against it. I sometimes please myself with the hopes of living to see it abolished, or put upon another footing in America.

"The pamphlet will be left at the Pennsylvania Coffee-house, in Birchin Lane. Should you incline to reprint it, please to make such alterations as you think proper.

"With esteem for your virtues, and in particular for your zeal in behalf of the Negro slaves in America,

"I am, Sir, with great respect, &c. &c.

"BENJAMIN RUSH."

Here it becomes necessary for the biographer to pause. It appears, from the Manuscript account of his correspondence with America, that, in consequence of the activity excited in the Quakers, and other numerous bodies in America, by Mr. Sharp's successful exertions for the Negroes in England, it was proposed by the State of Virginia, and other provinces, to apply to the British Parliament for an amendment of their laws with regard to the importation of slaves into the colonies. Mr. Sharp was written to, and informed of this purpose; and he, in reply, stated to them his opinion, that the British Parliament had nothing to do with the internal laws of their states, in respect of which it was proper for them to address none but the King and his Council.

This doctrine was not new to the Americans. It was precisely the same which they had for two years openly maintained in *fact*, during the contest occasioned by the attempts of our ministry to impose internal taxes on the colonies*. But it had hitherto been acted on as far only as regarded the imposition of duties for the purpose of raising a revenue, (or in similar cases leading to the same point). In the instance in which Granville now brought it to their view, although it stood on the same basis, it appeared in a new and more enlarged light. The strength and clearness with which his opinion was expressed concerning it, was of course highly agreeable to the prevailing temper of the colonists; and they accepted with eagerness arguments

* See Marshall's Life of General Washington, printed in Philadelphia, vol. ii. chap. 2.

that extended the scope of those principles which they had so sturdily asserted. Copies of his letters were every where rapidly circulated, and the method which he had proposed was adopted, as the true constitutional rule for proceeding in regard to all circumstances of the Slave Trade. But in this, as in other things, the principle on which he grounded his actions was so extensive as to embrace much more than its immediate object; and hence, when the increasing animosities in the colonies provoked them to hostile conflict, the same doctrine was forcibly brought forward *in all points*, and the whole resistance of America to England stood on the same foundation as that which Granville had laid down for the regulation of their Slave Laws.

Of these events, although unforeseen at the time that has been described, he seems to have been fully aware when writing his later memoranda, in one of which (speaking of Mr. Benezet having printed such numerous extracts of his first letter in America), he thus expresses himself: "It is remarkable, that an humble endeavour to oppose domestic tyranny and slavery, without any other view, should be the means of warning the Americans of the natural independence of their several Assemblies with respect to the British Parliament." And, in another memorandum, he speaks more decidedly of the same point;—that the toleration of slavery in the colonies, and the suggestions of a few individuals "that the Americans should apply for a regular repeal of the disgraceful Plantation Laws (enacted by their own Houses, and sanctioned by their Assemblies), through *the King and Council*, were the means of preparing them to insist on the illegality of any interference of the British Parliament in matters of legislation for the colonies, in opposition to the astonishing system which unfortunately prevailed at that time in England*."

* It is apparent, from what has been already observed of the actual circumstances which took place in the colonies for two years preceding the date of Mr. Sharp's first reply to Benezet, that he here overrates the *extent* of the consequences of his correspondence.

Besides the several petitions which had been addressed by the provinces (the Massachusetts

Of counsels, which have been connected with such momentous results, it is natural to investigate the motives with severity. The conduct of Granville might have been that of a *partisan* of a foreign country, inimical to his own;—but how could that be the case with *him*, who, at all times the most steady in loyalty, and most attached both to the Church and State of Great Britain, looked on the Constitution of his country as the nearest to perfection*; was at all times zealous for the preservation of its purity; and regretted the violence offered to the American Colonists, as to his *fellow-subjects* of *the English Government?* It might have been the conduct of an *ambitious enthusiast*,—if the love of fame and personal distinction had not been proved to be a sentiment repulsive to his natural disposition. A higher motive governed all his endeavours; a motive which prompted him to look down alike on faction and on ambition:—his *religion* taught him to desire *right*, without any consideration of *consequences*. To this his acknowledged principle† he adhered through life, in precept and in practice.

in particular) *to the King alone*, Dr. Franklin relates, in a letter (to T. Cushing, Esq.) dated Dec. 2, 1772, that, in a conversation with Lord Dartmouth, on the subject of the Massachusetts Petition, he had remarked to his Lordship, that he "might observe that *Petitions came no more from America to the Parliament, but to the King only.*"

Mr. Sharp's opinions, however, might naturally have had their full weight with Dr. Franklin, whose approbation of them in general will be seen in the next page, and who afterwards thus writes to his son, Governor Franklin, at New York:—"I know not what letters of mine Governor H—— could mean. I shall, however, be able at any time to justify every thing I have written. *From a long and thorough consideration of the subject, I am indeed of opinion that the British Parliament has no right to make any law whatever binding on the Colonies; that the King, (and not the King, Lords, and Commons, collectively), is their sovereign; and that the King, with their respective Parliaments, is their only legislator.*"

This letter is dated Oct. 6, 1773, a year and two months after Mr. Sharp's reply to A. Benezet on the subject of the American petitions. Mr. Sharp's conduct, therefore, (especially as he afterwards expressed no dissatisfaction in reflecting on it) may in the strictness of justice be examined by the test of *his own consciousness of its effects.*

* In a letter to Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Durham, he thus expresses his sentiments:—
"If the British Empire was to include the greatest part of the known world, no system of human policy would be so capable of uniting and holding it together as the BRITISH CONSTITUTION OF STATE."

† See page 67.

To return to the narrative.—To a man disposed by nature to contemplate boldly the most abstruse sources of universal truth, and eminently endowed with faculties for such a purpose, sufficient opening had been given, to lead him forward in the interesting track of human liberty. With the same eagerness, with which he had sought in English statute-books for the defence of individual freedom, he now turned to investigate, by a more extensive research, the natural and political rights of nations in general. The immediate motive was still the love of *the English character*. "The duty of an Englishman," says his MS., "to maintain the just limits of law *according to the English Constitution of State*, impelled me in the year 1774, to publish another tract, viz.: 'A Declaration of the People's natural Rights to 'a Share in the Legislature, which is the fundamental Principle of 'the British Constitution.'"

Of this Declaration, he says, in another Note (July 27, 1774), that he gave to Dr. Franklin two hundred and fifty copies, which were sent to America the same day; and it will presently appear, that it was there reprinted, in many different provinces, within the course of the same year.

Various circumstances thus gradually led him to feel the most lively interest in the causes which then began to estrange the British Colonies in America from the parent country; and the result of negotiations, in which he was warmly solicited by the Americans to take a share, was, a full possession of his mind in favour of the colonists, who, he conceived, were pleading their natural and legal rights.

In consequence of this persuasion, he necessarily considered the war, which was now on foot against their principles, as unjustifiable on the part of England. He was shortly going to give proof of the sincerity of his sentiments.

CHAP. VI.

DURING the whole course of the important transactions which have hitherto been related, it will be recollected that Mr. Sharp had continued in the humble employment of a clerk in ordinary in the minuting branch of the Ordnance Office; where the duties of his department appear to have been punctually performed, as on the death of the second clerk, in the year 1774, he succeeded to the place, and acted as assistant to the secretary, Mr. Boddington: on the occasion of which promotion he received also an additional allowance.

It was in this situation that, in conformity with the sentiments which have been ascribed to him in the preceding chapter, he exhibited a fresh instance of the scrupulous integrity which directed all his actions.

MS. "July 28, 1775, Board at Westminter.—Account in Gazette of the battle at Charlestown, near Boston; and letters, with large demands of ordnance stores, being received, which were ordered to be got with all expedition, I thought it right to declare my objections to the being any way concerned in that unnatural business, and was advised by Mr. Boddington to ask leave of absence for two months, as the Board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation.

"I wrote that day to Sir Charles Cocks, Clerk of the Ordnance, and received a very polite answer.—Sir Jeffrey Amherst and Mr. Langlois were made acquainted with my objections by Mr. Boddington, and also with the advice he had given me: and they approved of the manner of my absenting myself."

Arrangements having thus been made to favour Mr. Sharp's wishes, he employed the time of his leisure in literary labours, and

in renewing the ties of affection with his relations in the North. At the expiration of the limited term of absence from the office, he wrote in the following terms to Mr. Boddington.

[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland, 26th Sept. 1775.

" As the term of my leave of absence will expire in a few days, and there is not yet any change of public measures respecting America, though the Petition lately brought over by Mr. Penn had given me some hopes of it, I now begin to be anxious about my own particular situation; for as my opinions on that subject are established, I cannot return to my ordnance duty whilst a bloody war is carried on, unjustly as I conceive, against my fellow-subjects; and yet, to resign my place would be to give up a calling, which, by my close attendance to it for near eighteen years, and by my neglect of every other means of subsistence during so long a period, is now become my only profession and livelihood.

" And, indeed, after the kind indulgence which I have already experienced on this occasion, as well as on many others, from the Right Honourable and Honourable Board, and after the very polite and friendly manner in which Sir Charles Cocks was pleased to grant me leave of absence for the time I requested, (of all which favours I am truly sensible), I should perhaps seem wanting in that sincere respect which I owe them, were I to resign my place all at once, without first soliciting a further indulgence of absence, till the final determinations of the Parliament respecting America, in the approaching session, are fully known; as the expediency, at least, of a friendly accommodation with the colonies, must by this appear sufficiently manifest to justify a hope that some probable means of restoring peace may be adopted before the commencement of another year. In the mean time, I should think myself very happy to give up my whole salary, to be divided, as should be thought most proper, amongst the gentlemen of the office who bear any additional burthen of business on account of my absence; being desirous to retain nothing for myself but my rank in the office. In what manner to make application for this additional favour, I must request your friendly information, as I have fully experienced the propriety of your kind advice on the same subject.

" With great esteem," &c. &c.

Mr. Boddington, in a very friendly reply to this letter, recommends

to Mr. S. simply to request a further leave of absence, without assigning any reason, or proposing any conditions.

His advice was thankfully and implicitly followed. At the same time Mr. S. sent a power of attorney to Mr. Boddington, enabling him to receive his salary, and entreating him to dispose of the whole in such a manner as he should think most proper for procuring the necessary assistance during his absence, "in order," he says, "that no additional expense be brought on the office on that account."

The following letter was the result of the second application, and is given here as a specimen of the respectful kindness which the probity of Mr. Sharp's character attracted, even from those who differed with him in opinion.

"Sir, "Office of Ordnance, Old Palace Yard, October 18, 1775.

"As I am always desirous to grant you every indulgence in my power, I most readily prolong your leave of absence for three months from the expiration of the last leave; and am, with great regard,

"Your humble Servant,

"CHARLES COCKS."

"Mr. Granville Sharp."

MS. "March 20, 1776.—Mr. Boddington called on me, to acquaint me that Sir Charles Cocks had talked with the Board of Ordnance, and that they said, 'I was at liberty to do as I pleased about resigning; but if I chose to ask a further leave of absence, it would be granted.'"

A third application was accordingly made in the same month, and was met by an equally indulgent answer as the former ones had been; the leave of absence being further extended for six months.

At length, hostilities with America having advanced beyond any hopes of speedy accommodation, it was thought advisable to fill his place in the office.

MS. "April 10, 1777.—This morning I called on Sir Charles

Cocks, and resigned my post in the Ordnance; Mr. Boddington having acquainted me that matters were so circumstanced in the office at present that Sir Charles did not think it prudent to grant me any longer leave of absence."

"I went on, however, with the current business of the office, excepting what related to preparations against the Americans, until Monday the 31st of July, when I delivered up my keys to Mr. Boddington."

Granville's situation, after he had resigned his employment in the Ordnance office, was sufficiently singular. His resignation had in it all that is considered, in a worldly view, as an excess of imprudence. He had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance and the fruits of his employment in acts of bounty; and the protector of the helpless stood himself without the means of sustenance. But the cordial attachment of his brothers (all now prosperous) brought them instantly around him. In a family overflowing with mutual love and benevolence, the accession to their household of such a relation as Granville had ever been accounted as a treasure, not as a burden. They reverenced that obedience to conscience which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness. The following affectionate testimonial will shew that they had anticipated both the event, and the feelings of their beloved brother in consequence of it.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Dear Brother Granville, "London, October 5, 1775.

"Many thanks for your very affectionate letter of the 26th of last month. We very much approve, *here*, of your asking a farther leave of absence. It will give you a little leisure, which you so very much want; and it will let you have a little enjoyment of the friends you see so seldom; and, above all, it may give some chance for a turn in public affairs: and of this I do not at all despair; but if it should be otherwise, and you should think it proper to give up your employment—I will now speak for my brother William as well as for myself—we are both ready and willing, and, God be thanked, at present

able, to take care that the loss shall be none to you; and all that we have to ask in return is, that you would continue to live amongst us as you have hitherto done, without imagining that youwill, in such a situation, be burthensome to us, and also without supposing that it will then be your duty to seek employment in some other way of life; for, if we have the needful amongst us, it matters not to whom it belongs—the happiness of being together is worth the expense, if it answered no farther purpose. But I will go farther, I have no doubt but the mutual assistance we are of to each other, and the consequence we acquire by it, is more than adequate to any third employment we might reasonably hope could be obtained; and, in case of the death of either party, much more would be lost to the family by your absence than perhaps might be produced by other means. These are only a few reasons drawn up in haste, as they appear to me to enforce what I have said above; but I trust you will have no occasion for it: it is not every part of office-duty you object to—you will, of course, refuse particular parts. It may pass on so till times come round—but if not, I shall not be at all uneasy at the resignation, if what is now said shall be agreeable to yourself.

"Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

"JAMES SHARP."

"Dear Granville, I most heartily approve of what my brother has written above; and I hope you will think of the matter as we do.

"Much love, as due, from your affectionate Brother,

"WILLIAM SHARP."

This offer Granville accepted, and continued to share the table and the purse of those excellent brothers for several years, until an accidental acquaintance with General Oglethorpe (as will be afterward mentioned) restored him to independence.

Being now without any civil employment, the natural activity of his mind led him to devote himself more fully to his pursuits of literary study; and it will therefore be proper to take a view, in the next chapter, of the works of literature which he had produced, with a diligence scarcely to be surpassed, up to the present period; and also a brief notice of the various talents with which he was endowed.

It is singular, that among his copious Manuscript Minutes he has

left scarcely any records of the employment of his time in study*. It will, however, be partly seen from the following letter, by what methods he found leisure and opportunity for his deep and important researches.

To the Rev. Dr. Rutherforth. [EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " London, 24th August, 1771.

" It has been a matter of great concern to me, that I have not been able to cultivate that correspondence and friendship with which you have been pleased to honour me, for I was ever truly sensible of the advantage and improvement which I might have reaped from it. The remarks, which I send enclosed, were indeed drawn up in answer to your letter, so long ago as August 1770, but ever since that time, till the last month, I have lived in a continual hurry; almost my whole time from morning till night being taken up in my office business, except now and then some little engagement with my brothers, which I could not well avoid; so that I have not had leisure to this time. We keep no holidays in the Ordnance, as in other public offices, and I am stationed in the most laborious post in the whole office; so that, as my time is not my own, I profess myself entirely incapable of holding a literary correspondence. What little time I have been able to save from sleep at night, and early in a morning, has been necessarily employed in the examination of some points of law, which admitted of no delay, and yet required the most diligent researches and examination in my study. And I have not scrupled to employ, now and then, even the leisure of a Sunday in this manner, because my labour has not been for profit, but merely with a view to do good and prevent injustice, by pointing out some notorious corruptions in the beaten paths of the law, which has enabled me to serve a few individuals, I hope with good effect.

" I should not have mentioned such particulars as these, relating to the employment of my time, had it not been necessary for me to convince you that

* Some few only are found in the following minutes:

MS. " August 6th, 1775.—Packed up such of my books and papers as I wanted, and in the evening brought them to brother William's lodging at Hackney, in order to be private; and was employed without interruption in preparing several tracts.

" October 19.—At Bamborough castle. Finished my tract 'On the Law of Retribution.'"

He appears to have noted, in his memorandums, only the pleasures which he enjoyed in society, or the benefits which he diffused in it.

my ordinary excuse, *the want of leisure*, is not feigned, and that my whole time has been unavoidably engrossed.

" With great esteem and respect," &c.

He gives a similar account in one of his letters to Mr. Benezet, on the subject of African slavery.

" Dear Sir, 7th July, 1773.

" I hope you will not measure my esteem for you by my negligence in writing. I found myself obliged to defer acknowledging your very sensible letters, for want of proper leisure; for I am really a sort of slave myself, being obliged to employ every day in the week, constantly, in the ordinary business of my office, and having no holidays but Sundays, as the branch that I am in requires more attendance than any in the whole office. However, every opportunity that I could possibly get to myself (and Sundays in particular, after service) has been employed in reading and collecting materials to forward the undertaking which you have so much at heart," &c. &c.

CHAP. VII.

MR. SHARP's first literary enterprise was a work of no indifferent magnitude, if we regard the subject of it, though it consisted of a few pages only in duodecimo. It was printed in the year 1765, in answer to the Rev. Dr. Kennicott's statement of supposed corruptions in the Hebrew text of Ezra and Nehemiah. It was called, "Remarks "on a printed Paper lately handed about, entitled, 'A Catalogue "'of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews "'who returned at first from the Captivity, together with the Names "'of the returning Families, and the Number of the Persons at "'that Time in each Family: disposed in such a Manner as to show "'most clearly the great Corruption of proper Names and Numbers "'in the present Text of the Old Testament.' Addressed to all such "Gentlemen as have received or read the same."

The boldness of this attempt cannot be regarded without surprise. It were surely no trifling hazard for a young author, however accomplished for controversy by the regular instruction of the schools, to make his first essay against one of the ablest scholars of the day, on points in which he was allowed to be pre-eminently learned. But Dr. Kennicott's present antagonist had received no classical education: he had left the only school at which he had ever been placed, before he had attained any solid acquaintance with the languages of antiquity; and he had, ever since that early period of his life, been confined to the most unremitting employment of all the ordinary hours of labour. His uncle, the Rev. Granville Wheler, on reading his corrections of Dr. Kennicott's Catalogue, humorously compared him to David attacking and wounding Goliah.

This work gave the first proof of his unwearied powers of application, and of the strong bent of his mind to the pursuit of Biblical

knowledge. The singularity of the subject, the confidence with which his enterprise was supported, and the success with which it was finally attended, form one of the most remarkable incidents in literary annals*.

Dr. Kennicott is well known in the literary world for his laborious and valuable edition of the Hebrew Bible. He laid the foundation of his great work in 1753: his first volume was published in 1776; and the whole was completed in 1780. He had published proposals, in the year 1760, for printing, by subscription, a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, conformably to one of the best editions already published, and for inserting in the margin the Various Readings of other editions, and such corrections as the text appeared to require in many different passages†. During the progress of the subscription, however, he appears to have in part relinquished his original design, for the more hazardous undertaking of printing a Hebrew Bible with such corrections of the text as he thought necessary; and, in vindication of this plan, to have printed the Catalogue above mentioned.

The proofs of corruption in the text, he grounded on a comparison between Ezra's account of the sacred vessels, with the account given of the same in the book of Esdras; and he affixed, as a motto to his work, the following sentence, "Non potest verum asseri, quod ita diversum est."

This paper fell into Granville's hands, and produced the short tract which forms the commencement of his literary labours. His motives for printing it, are thus modestly expressed by himself in the introductory part.

"Having received from a friend, for whom I have a particular esteem, a printed paper, which had been sent to him by Dr. Kennicott, entitled, 'A Catalogue of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews who returned at first from the Captivity,' &c. &c. and being desired to return the said paper after perusing it, I thought

* Mr. Sharp's controversy with Dr. Kennicott, in the part of his undertaking here mentioned, appears to be an anecdote unknown to Dr. K.'s biographers.

† The original Proposals are, I believe, in the Library of the British Museum.

I could not handsomely do so, without sending my opinion of it at the same time. The nature of the subject is, indeed, so foreign to my own business and way of life, that I should scarcely have presumed to meddle with it, had not a point of good manners first induced me to do so; but afterwards, when I had considered Dr. Kennicott's manner of expressing himself in the title of this Catalogue, I thought myself obliged, through a desire of vindicating the holy Scriptures, to apply as closely to the examination of this charge against them, as my small share of leisure would permit; being apprehensive that this paper might cause such prejudices against the integrity of the text of the Old Testament, as the learned author himself perhaps never conceived, and would be sorry to have occasioned.

"A letter, which was the result of this examination, was, at my desire, shown to Dr. Kennicott; but the arguments therein had not sufficient weight to convince him that some apology was necessary to his friends, to prevent their misinterpreting his real design in the said Catalogue, and to remove all appearances of his having charged the present text of the Old Testament with more faults than it really deserves. Not being able, however, to lay aside my apprehensions of the ill effects which might possibly be occasioned by this Catalogue, I have therefore ventured to print some of my remarks upon it; lest any person, not having leisure to examine it sufficiently, should be led to conceive, that all the differences in names and numbers found therein, are really corruptions in the present text of the Old Testament*."

* The letter to which Mr. Sharp alludes, was written to Joseph Wilcocks, Esq., a generous subscriber to Dr. Kennicott's proposed publication. "It was written," says Mr. S. "merely to prevent the Doctor from attempting to correct the Sacred Text, which several of his subsequent publications demonstrated to have been his anxious wish."

In the prefatory part of the same letter, he says; "I should not have presumed to trouble you with my sentiments on Dr. Kennicott's Catalogue, had not my brother told me that you would expect to hear my opinion of it; and, therefore, as no opinion, unless accompanied with the necessary proofs, can signify much, I am under the necessity of troubling you with an epistle more like a pamphlet than a letter: but I trust I may depend on your known generosity and good nature, which will be very ready to overlook any want of method in a young

In the Remarks, he questions the Doctor's authorities and deductions respecting the supposed corruptions of the original text, and examines them by the test of numerous Hebrew names and roots. He then very boldly accuses the learned Hebraist of having drawn his instances of corruption of the text from the *English version only*, without having given himself the trouble of reading the *original*, "which," he adds, "is not less injustice, than if a Judge were to condemn a prisoner merely from the report given by others, without permitting him to appear before him to answer for himself."

This charge he supported with great learning and keenness of criticism. Still fearful that his motives might be liable to misinterpretation, he adds, in the conclusion of the same tract;

"Now, lest my censure of this Catalogue should seem to strike obliquely at Dr. Kennicott's present undertaking *of collating the Hebrew Manuscripts*, which has been honoured with the subscriptions of so many great and learned persons, I think it necessary, for my own sake, as well as in justice to Dr. Kennicott, to declare, that I think his collation of Hebrew Manuscripts a very laudable and useful undertaking; and that there cannot be the least objection to his new edition of the Hebrew Bible, *if printed according to the Proposals offered by him in the year* 1760, viz. "not with a new text, but from one of the best editions already published, having the Various Readings inserted at the bottom of every page."

In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Percy*, he offers a farther apology for his arduous undertaking.

"Dear Sir, "23d March, 1768.

"I return two of the books (Dr. Kennicott's) which you were so obliging as to leave for me. I should not so soon have finished the perusal, had I not

unexperienced writer, especially when he has not of his own accord undertaken the management of such a subject."

The original letter contained much more than was afterwards printed. At the twenty-fifth page of the Manuscript is the following note:—"The next paragraph, and all the remainder of this manuscript, is omitted in the printed copy, as being more suitable for *private admonition* to the Doctor's friends, to prevent him from attempting his plan of correction."

* Probably, the late Bishop of Dromore, author of the "Key to the New Testament," &c.

thought myself particularly interested in the subject, and therefore was tempted to sit up great part of one night on purpose to read them.

" I never contended for the absolute integrity of the printed Hebrew Bibles, and I have always been thoroughly sensible of the utility of Dr. Kennicott's undertaking, if it be confined to the publication of the Various Readings, according to his printed Proposals in 1760. But the Doctor, since that time, as well as before, has frequently discovered too earnest a desire of altering the text itself, and has made several attempts to persuade his subscribers that this is a necessary measure. His last publication, ' Observations on the first Book of Samuel, vi. 19,' is upon the same plan. I don't pretend to justify the reading which he rejects. It appears to me, from the style, as well as the context, to be superfluous; and the authorities produced by the Doctor, from manuscripts, seem to confirm the same.

" But this discovery (though many others of the same kind should be added to it) will not justify the Doctor in receding from his former proposals for a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, viz. *not with a new text*, but *from one of the best editions already published*. Nevertheless, in page 18 of his last Observations, he says, ' to alter without authority the passages of Scripture which have been objected to, can by no means be justified. But, then, it is equally certain that the printed copies of the Bible are entitled to the same advantages of fair correction, which the printed copies of all other ancient books are allowed to receive.' And in his last page he says, ' But though unbelievers, who urge such objections as are founded in the mistakes of transcribers, are herein *less to blame* than those *believers* who do not wish that such mistakes *may be corrected*, yet,' &c.

" Now, I readily acknowledge myself to be one of those believers who are absolutely averse to the permitting of any corrections or alterations at all from the present text of the best printed copies; and therefore must, of course, be subject to the Doctor's comparison before quoted, ' that unbelievers are herein less to blame than myself.' But, in behalf of myself and others under the same censure, I think it necessary to observe, that, though some readings shall be clearly proved wrong, yet the difficulty of finding proper arbitrators to determine whether they are so or not, will render the correcting of such readings a matter of very dangerous tendency. If some are corrected which are really wrong, others, which are not so, will likewise be in danger, merely because they are misunderstood. Indeed, I think it impossible to set proper bounds to a liberty of correcting or altering the text; for if the Doctor's subscribers should

permit him to do so, they will lay a foundation for many more corruptions and interpolations than are at present to be found therein. The Doctor's attempts to show the necessity of correcting the text, have in general furnished us with very sufficient objections against it; for many readings, which he, and some of his most *learned friends*, would have made no scruple of rejecting or altering in the text, because they supposed them *clearly proved wrong*, have since been as clearly vindicated.

"My objections to this measure have always been uniform, and I have taken the liberty to send for your perusal some manuscripts, which I flatter myself will justify my present sentiments of this matter.

"I am," &c. &c.

Dr. Kennicott objected to the "Remarks" as unfair, on the ground that the author of them had attacked a proposal which had never been published. This objection was answered by Mr. Sharp, by stating, that "he meant only to *print* his *Remarks* as Dr. Kennicott had *printed his Proposals*, and to advertise, that any person, in possession of the Doctor's *Catalogue*, might receive *gratis* a small book of Remarks proper to accompany it."

Several letters, which passed between Dr. Kennicott and Mr. Sharp (preserved among the papers of the latter), elucidate the progress of their controversy. Their differences were referred to Dr. Lowth, whose observations, and Mr. Sharp's reply to them, were printed in a second edition of the Remarks. The following passage, in a letter from a mutual friend, shews the final event of the contest.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Dear Sir, "Cambridge, July 30, 1770.

"Dr. Kennicott, since I received the favour of yours, has dispersed Proposals for preparing for the press the Various Readings collected from the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament. You have probably seen them before this time. In these, he declares his design to be, to print an edition of the Hebrew Bible, containing, at the top of each page, the printed text from Vanderhooght's copy of it, and, at the bottom of the page, all the Various Readings collected on that part of the text.—With the truest esteem, &c. &c.

"T. RUTHERFORTH."

This design was exactly in unison with Granville's wishes; and he thus expresses his satisfaction:—"As soon as Dr. Kennicott gave up the point, and agreed to abide by his first proposal, viz. to print his text from an approved copy already published, and to content himself with giving the Various Readings of his Manuscripts in the margin, I gave up all thoughts of printing what I had prepared to oppose him, and subscribed to his work*."

His next literary production, in 1767, appears to have been prompted by a sincere zeal for the English Church, whose forms, as well as tenets, he was desirous to recommend on all occasions.

The opportunity which presented itself, was the suggestion given to him of a design entertained in Prussia, to introduce the English Liturgy into that kingdom. He knew that his family possessed a singular manuscript account of a similar design formed in a preceding reign, during the life of his grandfather the Archbishop, which had proved abortive from the adverse influence of political connections; and he thought it his duty to submit that account to the

* Mr. Sharp's character breaks forth on this as on every occasion. His strictness in censuring error, and his forbearance and desire of not offending the object of his censures, went hand in hand. In a letter to his brother, Dr. John Sharp, dated Jan. 1, 1770, he says; "I am just now about finishing another book against Dr. Kennicott, to confute his last dissertation on Sam. vi. 19, which has cost me rather more time from business than I could well afford."

In a farther note, in his letter to Mr. Wilcocks, he says; "G. S. was prepared with confutations to most of Dr. Kennicott's proposed alterations of the text; and as Mr. W. would probably think it right to consult other friends of the Doctor on this serious subject, he thought proper to cut out the name of the writer at the end of the letter."

In a letter to his brother of a later date (1773), he says of his Tract in Defence of the Sacred Text of Ezra and Nehemiah against Dr. Kennicott's Charge of Corruption: "But of this I have but a single copy left, and *it was never published*, through tenderness to Dr. K."

It will further contribute to the illustration of his character, to show, from an otherwise unimportant entry in his Manuscript Notes during his leave of absence from the Ordnance Office, that his youthful contest with the literary veteran, Dr. Kennicott, did not interrupt the general tenour of amity which so uniformly prevailed in his conduct and behaviour towards all persons; —"August 20th, 1775, Sunday, Oxford. Went to church at St. Mary's—went to visit Dr. Kennicott—drank tea with Dr. Kennicott."

Prussian Government, "now that the King had leisure," (as he expresses it), "to think of ecclesiastical matters." He therefore published a little work of 116 pages quarto, in French, which is noticed in Dr. Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and was entitled, "Relation des Mésures qui furent prises dans les Années 1711, 1712, et 1713, pour introduire la Liturgie Anglicane dans le Roiaume de Prusse et dans l'Electorat de Hanover*." It contained authentic copies of several original letters and papers relative to the design mentioned in the title, and a preface, in which the motives for the publication were stated. After making mention of his father's manuscript Life of Archbishop Sharp, from which the publication is extracted, "It now," he adds, "remains to inform the reader, that the grandchildren of Archbishop Sharp, for the instruction of whom the above-mentioned work was compiled, and in whose possession only it now is, have caused this extract to be made, and translated into the French tongue; not for any private purpose whatever, but merely with a friendly design of communicating to those whom it more particularly concerns, some matters relating to the Prussian Church, which they imagine may not now be known in Prussia, because they were brought to light chiefly by means of letters and other original papers preserved in Archbishop Sharp's family; there having been a private correspondence carried on between the Archbishop, and that truly pious and learned man Dr. Jablonski†, concerning the business herein related."

* "A small but curious work has lately been published by the descendants of Archbishop Sharp, belonging to the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century, which contains 'an account of the measures taken, and the correspondence carried on, in the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, for the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England into the kingdom of Prussia and the Electorate of Hanover.' To this account are annexed several very interesting and original papers of the learned Dr. Jablonski, more especially 'A Plan of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship; and other Papers, concerning the Nature of Episcopacy, and the Mode of rendering it compatible with the Interests of the Sovereign and the religious Liberty of the People.' The work is published in a French translation, by the Rev. Mr. Muysson, Minister of the French Chapel at St. James's."—*Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.*

† "Le Dr. Daniel Ernest Jablonski etoit Premier Chapelain du Roi de Prusse, et Surintendant de l'Eglise Protestante de Pologne. Il avoit dans sa jeunesse été fort prevenu contre l'Eglise Anglicane, mais ayant fait deux voyages en Angleterre, dans lesquels il sejourna assez long tems

The work was dedicated

"To the most High, the most Mighty, and most Excellent Monarch,
"Frederic III. King of Prussia and Elector of Brandenburg.

"Sir,

"As the following sheets, containing the letters of an eminent "Prussian Divine, relate to a scheme patronised by your Royal "Grandfather, they require no other apology for being laid at your "Majesty's feet. The descendants of an English Prelate, in whose "hands alone the original papers are lodged, which are as yet un-"known to the world, have presumed to do this; well knowing that "your Majesty will not judge of the gift by the obscurity of the "persons who make it; but that, if there be any thing in it which "can be made conducive to the public good, your Majesty will "bring it to perfection: under which persuasion it is with all humi-"lity offered to your Majesty, AS THE FRIEND OF MANKIND."

The offering was graciously received by the King, and the work was greatly approved by the clergy both of Prussia and Holland*.

His third publication was "A Short Introduction to Vocal Music," of the merits of which the approbation of men of acknowledged judgment and professional eminence furnishes the most decisive testimony†.

à Oxford, ses conversations avec plusieurs de nos Ecclesiastiques, et une étude appliquée de notre Discipline et de notre Liturgie, lui avoient inspiré une veritable admiration pour la constitution de notre Eglise."—*Muysson, Traducteur.*

Dr. Jablonski thus delivers his opinion of our Protestant Church, to a friend (Dr. Nicholls), in a letter dated January 10, 1708:

"..... inde in eâ sententiâ confirmatus fui, Ecclesiam Anglicanam inter omnes Ecclesias Reformatas ad exemplar Ecclesiæ Primitivæ proximè accedere, meritoque audire Sydus in Cœlo Christiano lucidissimum, Decus Reformationis primarium, et Evangelii adversus Papatum propugnaculum firmissimum."

* Some Letters in the *Correspondence* will explain what is further deserving to be known of the transaction.

† † *From Joah Bates, Esq. to Granville Sharp, Esq.*

"Dear Sir, "Hinchinbrook, Dec. 27, 1768.

"A party of very musical people are assembled at this place, most of whom are very desirous of improving themselves in the art of singing at sight. It was natural for me to

His fourth work, "On the Pronunciation of the English Tongue," was printed in the year 1767. He gives the following account of it in a letter to his brother, Dr. John Sharp, dated January 3, 1786.

"The few hours of leisure that I was able to spare from business, in September and October last, were chiefly spent in drawing up a short treatise on the English Tongue, to render the reading and pronunciation of the same more easy to Foreigners. Dr. Gregory Sharp, Dr. Birch, and my brothers here, have read, and approve of it, and advise me to print it. Dr. Sharp would have me print it in Latin, French, and English.

"I believe the whole (except the preface) may, when printed, be contained in a sheet of paper.

"Dr. Lowth does not treat upon the English pronunciation in his Grammar; neither do I know of any author that has, (except Wallis), to any purpose. An honest Scotchman, Mr. Buchanan, has indeed lately attempted it, but with so many refinements by way of polite pronunciation, that he makes it ten times more difficult and irregular than it really is. Wherefore I flatter myself that my little treatise will be the more acceptable to the public, especially as the extreme difficulty and uncertainty of the English pronunciation is universally complained of," &c. &c.

There are two separate editions of this work; one in English only, and one in English and French*.

In 1768, he published a tract entitled "Remarks on several

mention to them your little Treatise, as the best calculated for this purpose of any thing I had ever seen; and curiosity is so greatly raised, that I promised to write to you, and beg the favour of one or two copies, if you have any to spare. Besides considerably improving the art itself, you will make a great many people happy, and we shall all be bound to remember you with gratitude. "With best respects," &c. "JOAH BATES."

A valuable letter likewise from our eminent native composer, Mr. Shield, will be found in the *Appendix*, containing, in addition to several interesting anecdotes, a critical examination of the "Introduction to Vocal Music." The reader is referred to it both for amusement and instruction.

* By what methods he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of French to venture on a publication in that language, is uncertain; but in the correspondence which he afterward carried on with the principal members of the first French Revolution, the rough copies of some letters, written entirely in French, with great alterations and interlinings in his own hand, prove him to have possessed a considerable knowledge of that tongue.

"important Prophecies." The immediate motives of this publication are not known to his friends. He himself describes it, in the catalogue of his works, only as "written in answer to Dr. W—ms." Its object is, to defend the received interpretation of certain passages, in the Prophetical Writings, which declare the miraculous birth of Christ.

His two next works have been already mentioned. He edited "A short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes" (originally printed in America), "and of the Endeavours of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel to instruct Negro Slaves in "New York;" adding to his publication "A Conclusion, by the "Editor:" and to this succeeded the celebrated "Representation of "the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in "England, 1769."

In the year 1771 appeared a tract on a subject entirely distinct from any yet mentioned. It is called "Remarks concerning the "Encroachments on the River Thames near Durham Yard," and is noticed by him in a letter, already quoted, to Dr. Rutherforth:— "One public affair has likewise taken up some of my time; viz. the rights of the city of London upon the river Thames, which, as a citizen, I am bound by oath to maintain. A little tract on this point I am now printing."

In 1772 he printed "An Appendix" to the Representation against Slavery.

Similar motives to those just described by himself, springing from a sense of social duty, gave rise to his next production, "On Duelling;" of which he gives the following account to his friend Benezet.

[EXTRACT.] "7th January, 1774.

"Towards the end of last summer, when I had set about to finish my tracts, I was undesignedly drawn off by a particular subject, the pernicious

practice of duelling, which occurred to me in the course of one of my tracts, viz. that relating to the 'Necessity of Submission to Personal Injuries,' in which it was proposed to show the true meaning of the several texts usually cited for the lawfulness of *slavery among Christians*.

"My intention, indeed, was only to touch lightly on *duelling;* but, in examining the subject, I found it so perplexed with contradictions, and false precedents cited by the law writers, that I was gradually and imperceptibly led on by the importance of the subject to canvass it thoroughly; and at length, on account of some violent disputes and personal abuse among our magistrates in the city, I thought it my duty as speedily as possible to print my Remarks on it in a separate tract."

99. "Sept. 3, 1773.—Sent to the press my book on Crown Law, respecting the due distinction between murder and manslaughter.

"October 7.—Sent copies to the twelve Judges, the Recorder, the Lord Mayor; also to Aldermen Sawbridge, Oliver, Wither; and Mr. M. Lovell."

The year 1774 produced a work which has been also mentioned; viz. "A Declaration of the People's natural Rights to a "Share in the Legislature."

The *motives* have been given in the Manuscript minutes, in which the account is thus continued:—

"This Declaration was reprinted even in the same year, 1774, in almost every part of America, at the very time that the British Government had most fatally determined to enforce its unconstitutional and unjust pretensions, and thereby incurred an extraordinary national punishment,—even the forfeiture of all the colonies which they had intended to oppress, together with an immense loss of lives and a most ruinous expense!

"Such are the baneful effects of yielding to the false political suggestions of the prince of this world and his spiritual agents! The providential effect of the wicked notions which, through a fatal delusion, have prevailed in the cabinets of princes, is completely contrary to their political expectations. For they conceive that there

is (what they call) an *imperial necessity*, or a *political expediency*, for adopting illegal and unjust measures. But they are not aware that such measures always produce the very mischiefs which they hoped to prevent by them, and draw down the Divine vengeance declared in the 64th Psalm: 'They imagine wickedness, and practise it; but God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow; yea, their own tongues shall make them fall; and all men that see it, shall say, This hath God done! for they shall perceive that it is his work!' ver. 7, 8, and 9*."

In the year following he published another tract (or rather an enlarged edition of the last mentioned) entitled, "A Declaration of the "People's natural Rights to a Share in the Legislature, against the

* On the occasion of this work he received the following lines from —— Payne, Esq., one of the Directors of the Bank of England.

"TO MR. GRANVILLE SHARP,

"*On reading his late instructive and excellent Book, entitled 'A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature, as the fundamental Principle of the British Constitution of State.'*

"Wise, learned, meek, with reverential love
Of God's just laws, and love of man inform'd,
O may thy labours by the midnight lamp
Pour day's effulgence on thy country's darkness;
Teach lawyers rectitude; teach statesmen truth;
Teach tyrants justice; and the village hind,
Lord of his little freehold, teach to prize
His personal importance, and to deem
His own rights sacred as the rights of monarchs!
But should the voice of warning not be heard;
Should this devoted nation, left of God,
Worship hell's blackest dæmon, lawless pow'r,
And, driv'n by pride and wrath, precipitate,
Through streams of kindred blood, her hasty strides
To the dark gulph of dissolution—then,
O then, may thy just spirit, self-approv'd
In its past efforts, with the eye of faith,
Awful, yet calm, behold the signal vengeance,
And on the spotless wing of liberty
Rise uncorrupted to its native heaven!"

Over these verses is written, in red ink—

"*Mem.* A seasonable warning to G. S., not of what he is, but what he ought to be."

" Attempts to tax America, and to make Laws for her against her " Consent:" and again, in 1775, " A Declaration of the People's " Rights to a Share in the Legislature; containing a Defence " both of America and Ireland, and stating the Illegality of those " declaratory Acts of Parliament called *Poining's Acts.*"—The latter tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1776.

The three works last mentioned contain his sentiments on Parliamentary elections.

" The Law of Retribution;" " The just Limitation of Slavery in " the Laws of God, with a Plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery " in the Colonies;" " The Law of Passive Obedience;" and, " The " Law of Liberty," all the produce of the year 1776, close the account of Granville's literary progress up to the period at which he resigned his employment under the Government; and the whole, when combined with the zealous and effective public action which we have contemplated, forms a mass of important exertions, scarcely within the bounds of credibility in the life of a diligent clerk in ordinary in the Minuting Office of the Ordnance.

During his progress in literary industry, the severity of his studies had no power to abstract him from the enjoyment of the most social relaxations. A barge on the Thames, long known to the circle of his friends for its festive hospitality, and particularly as a scene of musical delight, begins to occupy a place in his MS. notes, from the August of 1775, immediately on his obtaining his first leave of absence from the Ordnance Board. The history even of his amusements cannot be told without adding to the dignity of his character. The barge appears, from his memoranda of various dates, to have been the resort not only of men of the most eminent talents and skill, but also of those of the highest and most distinguished rank. It was occasionally crowded with Foreign Ambassadors: it received on board at one time the Minister, and at another the Sovereign, of

England;—to such distinction the virtues of the possessors had entitled them, and such was the deference shown to the integrity of Granville, even while he was strenuously contending against the measures of the Cabinet in the momentous point of our American contest*.

* To the inhabitants of the banks of the Thames the subjoined recollections will be interesting.

The *Union Yacht* was built in 1775; seventy feet long, and thirteen feet six inches wide; forty-five tons burthen. Several other vessels were afterwards added, till they formed a little fleet, which was usually moored off the Bishop of London's Stairs, at Fulham. Three of the vessels were named after the daughters of the family—viz.: a chaloup, *The Jemima;* a smaller ditto, *The Catherine;* a canoe, *The Mary*. A fourth was called *The Apollo*, which had a large commodious cabin, and was used for sailing, rowing, and towing. A picture, painted by Zoffany, represented the whole family sitting in this latter vessel.

The Union was constantly inhabited (except in the depth of winter) by Mr. and Mrs. William Sharp, till the death of Mr. James Sharp, when the surviving brothers took no longer any delight in their boats; and the yacht was put up to auction, but was bought in, from an apprehension that it would be converted into a sort of *tavern on the water*, and it was finally broken up.

An account of the musical entertainments of this singular barge is given in Mr. Shield's letter on the "Introduction to Vocal Music." (See Appendix.) A few notices of its visitors are here selected from Mr. Sharp's notes.

MS. "1775. August 2d. Went up in the barge with Sir Thomas and Lady Halifax (the Lord and Lady Mayoress), &c. to Richmond, where we met the City Committee for Thames Navigation, and proceeded with them to Staines.

"4th August. Returned to Kew, where we serenaded the King and Queen, Prince of Wales, and Bishop of Osnaburgh; the Committee standing all the time on the deck of the great city barge, with their hats off. His Majesty was very gracious and condescending to us."

"1777. August 29. Went up the river in my brother's new yacht, with a large band of music. When we fell down opposite to the King's garden, we saw their Majesties, and several of the Royal Family, in a garden carriage; who drove down to the Queen's Oak, and stopped for near an hour, while we played a variety of music, songs, glees, &c. We then took our leave, by giving three cheers, and playing *The Retreat*, &c. &c.—On the 1st September, had the honour of receiving their Majesties the King and Queen on board the yacht for about an hour.—On Sunday, September 7, we had sacred music in the evening at Lady Onslow's, Old Windsor, assisted by the Duke of Cumberland, who played the violin.—On Monday morning, Lady Onslow, Lady Holland, and her little son Lord Holland, and Miss Fox, came on board; and afterwards, Lady Mary O'Brien, Miss Haviland, Miss Banks, Miss Crew, and much more company, and stopped to see the race at Runney Mead from the quarter-deck. We got to Hampton that night. The next morning Mr. Garrick breakfasted with us; and we afterwards took up Mrs. Garrick and her company, &c. At Twickenham, we took up Sir George Pocock and family, Lady Shelburne, Lady Litchfield, the Princess Masserino, her son the Marquis of ——, and daughter, Mr. Cambridge, &c. We had the honour once more to serenade their Majesties at Richmond for a considerable time, till it began to grow dark."

"16th October. A large party from Putney came to breakfast with us; afterwards the Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth, and his two daughters, came on board; and, when they were gone, the Lord Mayor elect, and the Committee of the Thames Navigation, came on board."

"14th November. Received the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and the little Princess

Nor had his unwearied performance of duties of every kind precluded an attention to his favourite pursuits of science and taste, or the exercise of those talents which enabled him to prosecute them.

The cultivation of musical learning was customary in Mr. Sharp's family. He himself loved the theory and enjoyed the practice of music, as adapted to devotional purposes. He was not, nor did he aim at being, a tasteful performer; and the most studied *execution* gave him little pleasure. Singing and playing at sight were his favourite recreations. He had a good bass voice; and played on the common English flute, clarionet, oboe, and double-flute*. He had constructed (if not invented) a harp with two rows of strings, called a traverse harp, on which he accompanied his own voice in singing. At the Sunday evening concerts, which were held alternately at the houses of his brothers James and William, he beat the kettle-drums. Those concerts consisted wholly of performances of sacred music, in which voices and instruments were united to sound the praises of the Supreme Being. The family band was augmented by the gratuitous assistance of the most eminent professional performers.

To his knowledge of musical composition, Mr. S. added a considerable degree of skill in caricature drawing, which, though with many

their daughter, on board the yacht, where they drank chocolate, and staid above two hours with us."

" 1778. August 22d. On board my brother's yacht we entertained six Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers—viz. the Spanish, Sardinian (and his Lady), Imperial, Danish, Portuguese, and Genoese—also the Count de Ravando, a Spanish Nobleman; M. Daguano, the Spanish Chargè d'Affaires; the Chevalier d'Elcarano, the Spanish secretary; Lady Caermarthen and Lady Anna Maria Stanhope, &c. &c.: all of whom dined on board. In the afternoon, Lord and Lady North and family, and the Bishop of Cloyne and his Lady, came on board, and drank tea. Lord North's company went on board their own boat in the evening, and the Ambassadors, and the rest of the company, were landed at Kew Ferry.—Sunday morning went to Ealing church. Next day, Prince William, and Prince Edward, with their tutors, came on board to see the yacht."

It appears by another memorandum, that the entertainment given to the Foreign Ministers (mentioned in the last paragraph) was at the particular request of Lord North!

* His performance on the *double-flute* has been thus noticed by Mr. Shield: " This mode of performance was new in England. A pupil of Mr. Shield (Foster) afterwards adopted the instrument, and performed on it with great applause, in an overture composed by Mr. Shield for the opera of ' The Noble Peasant.' "

it proves a dangerous possession, is capable, when well governed, of affording a high and innocent gratification. The following short extracts will shew under what regulations it was indulged.

(*From a Letter to Dr. ——.*)

"With the books which I promised, I send a few copies of my 'Quaker's Meeting.' You have seen, I believe, the original. I drew it a great many years ago, merely with pen and ink, and it was lately etched by a young gentleman who studies in the King's Academy, who has aimed at giving, *both to this* and *the glee*, the same rough and careless appearance of pen-and-ink drawings."

(*From a Letter to Dr. Fothergill.*)

"If any of the Quakers should have seen some juvenile performances of mine in caricature, I hope they will believe that I only meant to expose their useless formalities in general, and not at all to affront individuals. I made no use of those drawings till above fifteen years after they were taken, lest they should give any personal offence; which, I think, they could not be liable to do so long afterwards, if we consider the great change in the appearance of men and things which such a number of years must necessarily produce."

In this class of humour may be mentioned a pen-and-ink sketch of his own *initial signature* in musical characters.—

The reader has thus beheld, in one view, Mr. Sharp's general character and conduct throughout the first important period of his life. It appeared advisable, for that purpose, to give the account of his various exertions respecting the *Negro* causes, which form the first distinguishing feature of his history, without any material interruption (inserting only such collateral and nearly congenial incidents, as the energy of his action forbad to be passed in silence*); and to add a

* One note remains to be transcribed.—MS. "April 17, 1773. Poor Jonathan Strong, the first Negro whose freedom I had procured in 1767, died this morning."

This Negro appears to have constantly received, and well deserved, Mr. Sharp's humane protection.

brief notice of the works written by him during the prosecution of his public purposes, and during his employment in office. In the remaining part of these Memoirs, his various publications will be either mentioned as they occurred in order of time, or reserved for the reader's notice in Mr. Sharp's own catalogue.

But an anecdote of singular interest yet belongs to the period which we are just passing;—an additional example of unwearied diligence in imparting benefits to others.

In the year 1775, Omai, a native of Ulaietea, one of the South Sea Islands, having been brought to England by Captain Furneaux, in his Majesty's sloop Adventure, Mr. Sharp was no sooner apprised of the circumstance than he expressed a desire of communicating to him a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and earnestly sought an introduction to him, by means of his friends Mr. Joah Bates and Dr. Jekyll, as appears by the following extracts:

Joah Bates, Esq. to Mr. Wm. Sharp.

"*Postcript.* Pray tell your brother Granville that I will not forget his commission about Omai. If it should be practicable to bring about an interview between them, it will give me great pleasure, as well as himself."

G. S. to Joah Bates, Esq., in reply.

"I am much obliged to you for what you mention about Omai. I don't think myself capable of expressing myself properly to him in discourse, for I have no talent at talking; but when I have an opportunity of being acquainted with him, I mean to consult the Bishop of Llandaff about some proper person to explain some of the first principles of our religion to him."

Dr. Jekyll to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "Saturday, 17th Feb. 1776.

"Your anxiety for poor Omai is consistent with the characteristic benevolence of your family. But if the representations made of him to me are just, I fear that you will have more difficulties than that of language to encounter. At the same time, I think that the present peace and eternal welfare of a fellow-creature (and perhaps of hundreds through him) is an object of importance sufficient to support a Christian in the most arduous undertaking.

"I shall be happy in attending you on Monday morning, and wish it may be in my power to contribute to the charitable work.

"Dear Sir," &c. "JOHN JEKYLL."

Mr. Sharp's manuscript notes give, as usual, a concise account of the interviews which took place.

℔S. "1776. February 12th. Being desirous to give some instructions to the native of Ulaietea, one of the South Sea Islands, I called this day on Mr. Bates, at the Admiralty, on that subject. Lord Sandwich gave his consent; and from thence I waited on Mr. Banks.

"13th. With Mr. Banks and Omai, by appointment.

"14th. Omai with me at the Old Jewry. [Mr. William Sharp's house.]

"17th. Called on Omai for about two hours.

"18th. Omai with me in Leadenhall Street. [Mr. James Sharp's.] —Dr. Jekyll in the afternoon.

"20th, 21st, 22d, 26th, and March 2d. Visited Omai all these days with Dr. Jekyll.

"March 5th. Omai for about three quarters of an hour.

"8th. Omai came for three hours; and 9th, for two hours with Dr. Jekyll.

"11th and 13th. Omai for two hours.

"26th. Omai called, but had no time for a lesson.

"28th and April 4th. Omai for a very short time.

"6th. Omai was so taken up with engagements that I could have no more opportunity of giving him lessons, which were but fifteen in all. However, in that time I taught him the use of English letters, and made him sound every combination of vowels and consonants that letters are capable of: and he afterwards wrote a letter to Dr. Solander, from the Cape of Good Hope, in his own tongue, but English letters."

The noble object in Granville's mind, in his attention to Omai,

is sufficiently evident. He not only felt a deep concern for the individual proselyte, but perceived an inlet opened, by his means, for the diffusion of Christian light over a new race of men; and he was anxious to suffer no moment for redemption to be lost. The knowledge of our language was the preliminary step*: and though his short notes do not take notice of any other topic than that of instruction in the English tongue, there remains no doubt that he diligently pursued his design of explaining to his pupil, as far as circumstances would suffer him, the divine truths of our Religion, and the several duties which it enjoins.

Of one of his conversations with Omai he has left the following singular relation, of which it may be doubted whether the sense, simplicity, or virtue be most to be admired. It is extracted from an Address to the Maroons in the new English settlement at Sierra Leone, delivered to Mr. Dawes, the governor, at the Court of Directors, November 13, 1800, on the subject of their polygamy.

..... "With respect to the particular point upon which I now address you, it was this 'perfect law of liberty†' which enabled me, many years ago (in March 1776), to convince a Pagan native of the very distant island of Ulaietea, Mr. Omai, a *Black man*, who by custom and education entertained as inveterate prejudices in favour of

* It will appear, from the following extract, that his treatise on the Pronunciation of the English Language, published in 1767, must have undergone considerable revision at this period.—

G. S. to the Rev. Dr. Bourke, Dean of Ossory.

"I believe that the difficulty of learning to read may be much reduced by proper rules of pronunciation, which in general are totally neglected; for nothing is more absurd and arbitrary than the usual mode of applying the sounds of the vowels to syllables in spelling, without laying down previous rules concerning the variation of the sounds in different combinations of the letters. It is this want of method which makes the English language so exceedingly difficult to foreigners. I took some pains on this subject, for the sake of instructing Omai; and I afterwards printed the work, for the use of the Negro children at Sierra Leone," &c. &c.

† "So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty." *James* ii. 12. "Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein ..... shall be blessed in his deed." *Idem* i. 25.

"This title, the *perfect law of liberty*," Mr. Sharp says, "properly belongs to the whole Law or Gospel of Christ, and seems to be so applied by the Apostle,"

keeping several wives, as any Maroon or African whatsoever. But though he was entirely ignorant of our religion, yet he had a good share of that natural knowledge of good and evil which is inherited by all mankind since the fall of our first common parents;—a knowledge which they wilfully took upon themselves, contrary to God's command, and which, of course, has rendered every man guilty before God, because we do not always act consistently with that assumed knowledge; which, however, may direct us to regain what we have lost, if we persevere in making a right use of it, by choosing the good and rejecting the evil; but more especially by choosing and preferring, before all other considerations, the supreme good, which includes a perfect love of God, and a grateful acceptance of the means he has freely given us to partake of the Divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), and become sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ (Rom. viii. 14—19; 1 John iii. 2.)

"This is the first branch of the *perfect law of liberty;* and we cannot possibly attain it, if we neglect to measure our conduct towards our neighbours by the second branch of the same *royal law**, which enabled Mr. Omai (when it was fairly stated to him upon the case in question) to condemn, with full conviction of the truth, the injustice of his former opinions against the rights of women.

"When sitting with him at table one day after dinner, I thought it a good opportunity to explain to him the Ten Commandments. I proceeded with tolerable success in reciting the first six Commandments. He had nothing to object against any of them, though many explications were required before he understood all the terms; and he freely nodded his assent. But when I recited the seventh Commandment, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' he said, 'Adultery! what that? what that?'

"'Not to commit adultery,' I said, 'is, that, if a man has got one wife, he must not take another wife, or any other woman.'—'Ohh!' says he, 'two wives—very good; three wives—very, very good.'—

* "……The royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." *James* ii. 8.

'No, Mr. Omai,' I said, 'not so; that would be contrary to the first principle of the law of nature.'—'First principle of the law of nature,' said he; 'what that? what that?'—'*The first principle of the law of nature*,' I said, 'is, that *no man must do to another person any thing that he would not like to be done to himself*. And, for example, Mr. Omai,' said I, 'suppose you have got a wife that you love very much; you would not like that another man should come to love your wife.' This raised his indignation: he put on a furious countenance, and a threatening posture, signifying that he would kill any man that should meddle with his wife. 'Well, Mr. Omai,' said I, 'suppose, then, that your wife loves you very much; she would not like that you should love another woman; for the women have the same passions, and feelings, and love toward the men, that we have toward the women; and we ought, therefore, to regulate our behaviour toward them by our own feelings of what we should like and expect of faithful love and duty from them toward ourselves.'

"This new state of the case produced a deep consideration and silence, for some time, on the part of Mr. Omai. But he soon afterwards gave me ample proof that he thoroughly comprehended the due influence of the law of liberty, when it is applied to regulate, by our own feelings, the proper conduct and behaviour which we owe to other persons. There was an ink-stand on the table, with several pens in it. He took one pen, and laid it on the table, saying, 'There lies Lord S——' (a Nobleman with whom he was well acquainted, and in whose family he had spent some time); and then he took another pen, and laid it close by the side of the former pen, saying, 'and there lies Miss W——' (who was an accomplished young woman in many respects, but, unhappily for herself, she lived in a state of adultery with that Nobleman); and he then took a third pen, and placing it on the table at a considerable distance from the other two pens, as far as his right arm could extend, and at the same time leaning his head upon his left hand, supported by his elbow on the table, in a pensive posture, he said, 'and there lie Lady S——, and cry!'

"Thus it is plain that he thoroughly understood the force of the

argument from the law of liberty, respecting the gross injury done to the married lady by her husband in taking another woman to his bed.

"There was no need to explain the rights of women any farther to Mr. Omai on that occasion."

To the record contained in this First Part of the Memoirs belongs also the notice of some circumstances respecting the *Colliers* and *Salters* in Scotland, in whose behalf Mr. Sharp was consulted by one of the Advocates for the amelioration of their condition. Some letters on the subject, dated December 1772, appear in his Correspondence, and demonstrate that there was no concern of humanity in which he was not ready to take an active interest. He might, with as much truth probably as any man that ever lived, have said, in the words of Terence's *Chremes*,

"Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART II.

ACQUAINTANCE WITH GENERAL OGLETHORPE—CAUSE OF IMPRESSED CITIZENS—ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES.—ORIGIN OF THE FIRST MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—CORRESPONDENCE ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORMATION.—RENEWAL OF EFFORTS FOR RECONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES.—VARIOUS CONCERNS.

ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY IN AMERICA, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—PROMOTION OF LEARNING AND RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGES. THE SHIP ZONG.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES—HONOURS CONFERRED BY THEM ON MR. SHARP.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART II.

PART II.

1776 TO 1782.

CHAP. I.

MR. SHARP had now attained his forty-first year.

The commencement of his public action had scattered too many seeds of important consequences to leave him long in the retirement of literary study. Nay, his writings themselves, as they were never unconnected with existing circumstances, were all calculated to draw him speedily back to public view. It has been mentioned that they had procured him the knowledge and the regard of Dr. Franklin, and of other persons of eminent repute; and he now owed to them an acquaintance with a military man, whose esteem for his political and religious principles led to important consequences in his fortunes.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

(Received at Wicken Park, Thursday, 26th Sept. 1776.)

[EXTRACT.]

" Cranham Hall, by Grays.

" Sir,

" Being at Woolston Hall, Dr. Scott's house, he showed me your ' Law of Retribution.' I was greatly rejoiced to find that so laborious and learned a man had appeared as champion for the rights of mankind, against avarice, extortion, and inhumanity;—that you had, with an heroic courage, dared to press home, on an infidel, luxurious world, the dreadful threats of the Prophets.

The ruins of Babylon, Memphis, and Tyre, are strong mementos to a Paris, a London, and a Lisbon, of the retribution paid to those who fat their luxuries on the labour of wretched slaves.

"The Portuguese were the first of the Western Christians who allowed slavery; whose adventurers stole men from Guinea, and sold them for slaves. On *Lisbon* the *first* example has been showed: an unnatural war between our race in America and in Europe, seems to give the *second:* you fairly open the Prophets, a *third* admonition*.

"I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

"JAMES OGLETHORPE."

G. S. in reply to James Oglethorpe, Esq. Cranham Hall.

[EXTRACT.]

"Sir, "Wicken Park, 27th Sept. 1776.

"Though my poor attempts to warn the public of approaching evils should prove too weak to effect such a timely reformation as may be necessary to avert the judgments against national injustice and inhumanity, yet it is no small recompence and satisfaction for my labour (next to the sense of having thereby discharged my own duty to my country) to find that my endeavours are approved by sincere lovers of justice, whose influence and example, in promoting the public good at every opportunity, I am sure will not be wanting.

"Three other Tracts were intended to precede that which you have mentioned, on the Law of Retribution, although the superior diligence of the printer who undertook it caused it to be the first distributed amongst my friends. Of these†, and also of some former tracts, I request your acceptance, as a small token of my sincere esteem for a gentleman who professes (though otherwise unknown to me) so great a regard for justice, humanity, and national reformation.

"If you should find any thing in those several tracts (respecting the *dignity of human nature,* and the *natural rights of mankind),* which seems to want further confirmation or explanation, I must request you to suspend your

* A singular coincidence of circumstances with this passage in General Oglethorpe's letter will not fail to strike all whose minds, like his, are accustomed to contemplate the hand of Providence in sublunary events. Of the three great cities here mentioned, two are stated (Lisbon and London) as already apparent examples of retributory justice. The sufferings of France have succeeded.

† 1. "The just Limitation of Slavery by the Laws of God;"—2. "The Law of Passive Obedience;"—3. "The Law of Liberty."

judgment till you receive two which are now in the press—viz.: one on the *Law of Nature* and *Principles of Action* in Men; and the other on the *Case of Saul*. These contain the principal grounds and foundation of human rights (asserted in the former works), and will demonstrate, I trust, beyond all possibility of reply, the extreme danger of infringing them, by pointing out the dangerous state of probation in which every man is placed in this life, and the absolute necessity that is laid upon us all (on account of man's hereditary knowledge of good and evil) to maintain God's eternal laws of *justice* and *mutual benevolence*.

"With great esteem, Sir," &c. &c.

The remaining Correspondence should be reserved (agreeably to the plan of this narrative) for another part; but, as the following letter contains anecdotes, from his own pen, of a distinguished man, of whom no account, of equal authority, has appeared in public, it is too curious to be deferred.—

General Oglethorpe to Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Cranham Hall, Oct. 13, 1776.

"With great pleasure I received the favour of yours of 27th September, and since, several excellent tracts of your composing, which I have read with much satisfaction, as they all point to the great end of life,—the honour of God and love of our neighbour. You have, with great judgment, showed the threats of the Prophets against the slave-owners and slave-sellers. As I have not the happiness of being known to you, it is necessary to tell you I am the person you will find mentioned in Harris's Collections (the last edition in two fol.), and in Smollet's, in Rolt, and all the histories of that time.

"My friends and I settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees, to make laws, &c. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave-merchants, and their adherents, occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favour them. We would not suffer slavery (which is against the Gospel as well as the fundamental law of England) to be authorised under our authority: we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The Government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent.

" As you will find me in the history of those times, you will find me also in the present list of the army; and, when you come to Town, I shall be very glad to see you in Grosvenor Street, where I live in London, as I do *here* in the country.

" This cruel custom of a private man's being supported in exercising more power over the man he affirms to have bought as his slave, than the magistrate has over him the master, is a solecism in politics. This, I think, was taken from the Romans. The horrid cruelty which that proud nation showed in all they did, gave such power to the masters of slaves, that they confused even the State. Decius Brutus, by the gladiators his slaves, defended the conspirators that killed the Dictator, Cæsar. The cruelty of the slave-masters occassioned them to join Spartacus, who almost overturned Rome.—Their laws were so severe, and the masters' power so horrid, that (Tacitus says) four hundred slaves, entirely innocent, were put to death, because two slaves had murdered their master; and he justifies this step. A Roman threw his old and useless slaves into a pond, where he kept fish, to feed them up to an excellent taste; and their laws did not contradict it.

" I find in Sir Walter Rawleigh's history of the Saracens, that *their* success, and the destruction of the Grecian and Persian Empires, was chiefly owing to their having vast numbers of slaves, by whom all labour and husbandry were carried on. And, on the Mahometans giving freedom to all who professed their law, the multitude in every conquered province joined them.

" You mention an argument urged by Hume, that the *Africans were incapable of liberty*, and that no man capable of government was ever produced by Africa. What a historian! He must never have heard of Shishak, the great Sesostris, of Hannibal, nor of *Tir-haka* king of Ethiopia, whose very name frightened the mighty Assyrian monarch (2 Kings xix. 9.) Is it possible he never should have seen Herodotus, where the mighty works of the pyramids, remaining to this day, are mentioned; and, in the ΘΑΛΕΙΑ, the answer of the king of Ethiopia to Cambyses? In Leo, the African,'s geographical description of Africa, he would have found that Africa had produced races of heroes.

" The *Christian* Emperors would have qualified the laws for slavery; but the Senate of Rome, in whom the old leaven of idolatry still prevailed, stopped such good designs. St. Austin, in '*De Civitate Dei*,' mentions that idolatry was sunk into the marrow of the Romans;—that the destruction of Rome by the Goths seemed to be a necessary dispensation of Providence to root out idolatry. The Goths, and all the Northern nations, when converted to Christianity,

abolished slavery. The husbandry was performed by men under the protection of the laws. Though some tenures of villeyn were too severe, yet the villeyns had the protection of laws; and their lords could not exact more than was by those laws regulated. (Bracton.)

" Spain and Portugal were subdued by the Moors: afterwards Portugal was recovered by the Christians. The Portuguese carried the war into Africa, discovered the sea-coast of Guinea, brought the unhappy natives away, and, looking on them as black heathens and hardly men, sold them for slaves.

" The Spaniards imitated them, and declared that Moors and Turks, taken in war, might be held as slaves. But the French still hold the noble law of the Northern nations; they allow no slaves in France: but, alas! it is too true, in their plantations, where the King's will is the only law, Lewis the Fourteenth, by the '*Code-Noir*,' permits and regulates slavery.

" I am exceeding glad that you have entered the lists in opposition to these horrors. It is a proper time to bring these abominable abuses under consideration; and if those who have the power of legislation will be admonished, and correct them, it may save them and us from the justly-menaced destruction.

" Your most obedient," &c. &c.

" J. OGLETHORPE."

Granville's reply must also be added.—

To his Excellency General Oglethorpe.

" Honoured Sir,

" I am not only truly sensible of the honour you have done me in condescending to make yourself known to me; but be assured, Sir, that ever since I read the account of the settlers of Georgia in Harris's Collection, to which you referred me, I have entertained a much greater esteem for you than I can find words to express.

" The noble principles on which that undertaking was at first set on foot, and your own truly disinterested and prudent conduct in establishing, as well as your brave and successful behaviour in defending it, form altogether a most instructive and exemplary piece of history for the imitation of the present and future ages: and, as example and practice are infinitely superior to theory and precepts, you certainly enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction of having really practised, and set forth in a conspicuous active life, those disinterested principles and duties which, in my humble station, I have only been able to recommend in theory.

" I shall certainly avail myself of the liberty of waiting upon you as soon as

I know that you are returned to Town; and remain, with the greatest esteem and respect," &c. &c.

At the time proposed, Mr. Sharp waited on the General; and it is easy to conceive with what feelings he was welcomed. In the mutual advances of their benevolent intercourse, a friendship was formed which was sustained through life with the most cordial sincerity.

Granville's usual zeal soon manifested itself by an "Introduction" (in a strain of strong sarcastic humour) to "The Sailor's Advocate," a work written by his veteran friend, on the subject of pressing*; while some public events, connected with the same subject, and which took place about the same time, tended to confirm their union, and to strengthen in both the ardour of social liberty.

It was natural to suppose, that a man who had voluntarily stood forward as the protector of the oppressed in one description of the lower classes of life, would be again resorted to for aid by all who, in equal distress, found themselves unprovided with the means of legal defence.

Instances of this nature quickly occurred. During the eagerness of the first preparations of England against her colonies, warrants had been very freely issued from the Admiralty for impressing sailors for the purposes of the new war; and many men had been seized in the city in consequence of these warrants†. The assistance of Granville Sharp appears to have been invoked in their relief by some zealous friend to the rights of freemen. The following reply, which will at once show the diligence of his researches, and his decided sentiments on the subject of pressing, is among his manuscripts, without date or address.

* The "Sailor's Advocate" appears to have gone through numerous editions. That at present in my hands is the *eighth.*

† "The City claimed an exemption from pressing within its jurisdiction. The Court of King's Bench held that these claims did not appear to them supported by adequate proof.....This dispute ended without any definitive decision on several of the most material points of law. However, the right of pressing seemed to grow in strength, and all ideas of local or personal exemption to lose ground considerably."—*Annual Register*, 1777.

" Sir,

" You are very right in supposing that the subject of impressing seamen had already engaged my attention. I have made many memorandums from my researches concerning it; and I shall be very ready to communicate them to yourself, or any of your friends, as I have already done to several others who applied to me. The argument which you mention about the public good, or *salus populi*, which is used to excuse the infringement of the most sacred rights of individuals, under the plea of necessity, is fully answered (I trust) in p. 25 of the little tract which I send herewith*. . . . . .

In short, the doctrine of necessity may be admitted to excuse some things of an indifferent nature, *not evil in themselves, though prohibited by law*, but never to justify *iniquity* and *oppression, respect of persons*, or any thing that is *malum in se;* because the first necessity, of all others, in a Christian community, is 'to do justice to all men at all times,' (see p. 40); as it 'is better to endure all adversities than to assent to iniquity.' (p. 44.)

" The end or purpose of all good government is liberty, with protection from personal injuries, and the security of private property. But when a very large part of the community, not only mariners, but other inferior orders that earn their bread by labour, are deprived of their liberty and protection, not for a short time only, but regularly and constantly, whenever the nation is at war (however unjust or unpopular the war may be); in such a case, I say, the end or true purpose of government is defeated and destroyed.

" This doctrine is deeply impressed in the genius of our common law, which informs us, by unquestionable maxims, that no man is worthy to hold the reins of administration in this country who cannot maintain the *national justice;* the chief object of which is certainly *personal protection.* '*Cessa regnare,*' says the maxim, '*si non vis judicare*' (p. 49): '*Cease to reign, if you will not do justice.*' And the reason is plain from another maxim; that liberty is the *soul,* and the laws the *body,* of the commonwealth† (p. 75). Our Parliament, therefore, can have no more right to make a law to enslave Englishmen, than any

* " An Address to the People of England, being the Protest of a private Person against every suspension of Law that is liable to injure or endanger PERSONAL SECURITY."—Towards the close of this tract he discusses the subject of impressing seamen, warmly contending against the measure as a violation of the laws of the realm, and in particular accusing Judge Foster of having " *prostituted his pen by asserting that it is not inconsistent with any statute.*"

† Vita Reipublicæ pax, et animus libertas, et corpus leges.

individual has to deprive himself of life (p. 47), because that would amount to the crime of *felo de se* in the state.

" I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

" G. S."

General Oglethorpe appears to have been no less active on the occasion than Mr. Sharp himself, whose letters of this date communicate to him several circumstances then passing on the subject of the impress, as *matters of mutual concern.*

G. S. to General Oglethorpe, &c. &c. [EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Old Jewry, Monday Evening, Dec. 16, 1776.

" I think it right to acquaint you, that three lieutenants of the navy, and one midshipman, were this day taken up by Holmes, a constable and beadle of Lime-Street Ward, and some assisting constables, for pressing two men by virtue of a warrant backed by Alderman Harley. Holmes carried them to Guildhall, where they were examined by Aldermen Plumer, Lee, Lewis, and Wooldridge, and were by them committed to Wood-Street Compter; and the pressed men, as well as Holmes, were bound to prosecute. I suspect, from the behaviour of the officers, that they put themselves in the way on purpose to give some handle against the City Magistrates (and perhaps against the Charter of the City)*; but, however that may be, it is now most certainly the critical time to defend the just rights of seamen, as well as to justify to the world the endeavours of the citizens, and prove that they are strictly legal and constitutional. Mr. Harley, by signing the warrant, is certainly liable to be punished by fine and premunire; and it would be very hard, that, through ignorance *he* should escape the just course of the law, and the other Aldermen come into trouble." &c. &c.

G. S. to the same. [EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Old Jewry, 24th December, 1776.

" I copied with my own hand the memorandums contained in your first

* When informed by one of the Aldermen (Sir W. Lewis), that, on account of the respect claimed by his Majesty's uniform, there would be no occasion for any other security from them, than the appearance of some of their friends to answer for them; the lieutenant replied, that " they did not wish to trouble any of their friends on the occasion." They were then sent to the compter.

packet, and have communicated them to Alderman Newnham, who seems now to be well confirmed in the doctrine: so that this has been an essential service. I find (in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xi.) that Mr. Lyttleton compared pressing with the case of *ship money*, as you have done; and I send you a copy of some additional remarks which I have made on that comparison.

"You will see, by the public papers, that the three lieutenants and midshipman, mentioned in my last, were discharged from prison, on giving bail for their appearance. The affair won't come on till the next Sessions at the Old Bailey; so that I hope we have time enough to prepare for it. A Committee is appointed by the Common Council to defend Tubbs, the Lord Mayor's waterman, who was pressed previous to the affair of Lime Street, and Alderman Newnham has promised to inform me who the committee are. . . .

"A person, whom I occasionally employ to write for me, brings word, that two of the lieutenants who were discharged on bail have just now pressed two more men in Lime Street, saying at the same time to one of the constables, 'We are come again, you see!' which is an open insult to the laws, while their case is pending..... I have sent to instruct the constable to take proper witnesses of the transaction, and to acquaint the Aldermen, as the recognisance of the bail is certainly forfeited.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

"P.S. As you have so much satisfaction in reading Bracton, I send a contemporary, called *Fletes*, as also *Britton*, and a very old edition of *Fortescue*."

G. S. to the same.

"Dear Sir, "London, January 7, 1777.

"Unavoidable business has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your judicious and sensible observations from Bracton, and from the English history, respecting the perverse opinions and illegal counsel of Judges in different periods, and the baneful consequences of them. I have had these observations carefully copied, but have made very little progress yet myself upon the subject, except in reading and searching for books, precedents, and authorities, that relate to it.

"Alderman Lee having called on me a few days ago, I thought it right (as he is so materially interested in the affair, and will probably be prosecuted, with the other Aldermen, by the Lieutenants, for their imprisonment*) to give

* This threat was held forth, but no prosecution was brought.

him a copy of the first observations with which you favoured me, but without the least hint from whence they come; and also of the remarks which I had added: and I find by the Public Ledger of this day, that the Alderman, or some of his friends, have been in haste to lay them before the public; for which, indeed, I cannot blame them; for I had acknowledged to him my own extreme slowness and caution in drawing up any work for the public eye.

"I did not, of course, communicate your last observations respecting the Judges; but, if I may have your leave, will put them likewise into his hands, as he is certainly interested to publish them in the best and most effectual manner."

&c. &c.

Besides these letters, there appear among Mr. Sharp's manuscript papers, many extracts from legal and other writers, on the subject of impressing.

There is also among the same papers, one of no small bulk, entitled, "General Oglethorpe's Memorandums on the Illegality of pressing Seamen, with Remarks by G. S."—probably the work alluded to in the foregoing letters.

Soon after the date of those letters occurred the case of Millachip, a freeman of the city of London, pressed in the month of March 1777; the minutes of which (from the copy of the short-hand writer) are preserved among Mr. Sharp's papers.

Millachip's cause was instantly taken up by the Common Council, and an order was given by the Lord Mayor (Bull) that an application should be made to the Admiralty to obtain his discharge. This application not being successful, a Committee of the Common Council was authorised to proceed in taking such measures as they should think fit for procuring his immediate liberation. A writ of Habeas Corpus was then obtained by the City Solicitor from Lord Mansfield; and the impressed man having in the mean time been sent down to the Nore, Mr. Gates, the city marshal, carried the writ on board the Admiral's ship, then lying there, and Millachip was instantly given up, brought back to town, and discharged*.

* Annual Register.

But, after the short interval of a fortnight, Millachip was a second time impressed; and the Committee, in consequence, ordered application to be made for another writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the commander of the receiving vessel. Some objections were made by Judge Aston to the mode of proceeding adopted by the City in procuring the former writ. But Mr. Dunning, the counsel, having explained and justified their conduct, the writ was granted, and the cause was brought before Lord Mansfield on the 7th of May, 1777.

On opening the case, the Attorney-General moved, that the return to the writ of Habeas Corpus be read; which was accordingly done; when, Lord Mansfield observing that it did not negative the special ground on which the writ had been obtained, Mr. Serjeant Glynn moved for the immediate discharge of the man. A long discussion then took place with respect to the incompetency of the return, from the circumstance just mentioned—viz., its not noticing the ground of complaint on which the writ was granted. The cause was finally ordered to stand over, and Millachip, in the mean time, was discharged on the recognisance of the City Solicitor.

Although various memorandums demonstrate that Granville took a very active interest in this proceeding, it is difficult to ascertain (at so great a distance of time) in what degree either his communications with the members of the committee, or his example in the conduct of the Negro causes, might have influenced their measures. The recollections of a very few surviving contemporaries ascribe the conduct of the City on the occasion wholly to his interference*. A Report from the Committee on Cases of Pressing appears among his papers; and there can be little doubt that, agreeably to his former custom, he circulated his own and General Oglethorpe's remarks

* In an Obituary Memoir of Mr. Granville Sharp, published shortly after his death, the entire management of the case of Millachip was attributed to him; but that supposition is not supported by the preceding statements, and the error is noticed here, only on account of the respectability of the writer.

among all those who were peculiarly concerned in the circumstances. It is not unlikely, that the "Remarks on Impressed Seamen," generally attributed to him*, were written at this time, (though printed long afterwards); and the "Address to the People," before-mentioned (p. 161), is nearly of this date†.

The following also is among his notes.

℔S. "1777, April 30.—Went with Alderman Lee to the Recorder (Serjeant Glynn) about press warrants, and left with the latter several very strong testimonies of their illegality, and some remarks on the force of the Habeas Corpus laws. Alderman Lee seemed much pleased with what was said; indeed, the Recorder himself also."

The most remarkable feature in the trial of Millachip is the following declaration, made by the Judge in Court.—

"*Lord Mansfield.*—You will be surprised when I say, that I believe this is the first return to a writ of Habeas Corpus upon a man's being pressed, that ever existed. I never met with one.....

"We are upon untrodden ground. If any gentleman of the bar meet with any precedent, I should be glad to know it. I know that great searches were made into the offices many years ago, and they were found so far back as the reign of Queen Anne.—Upon the temporary land-pressing acts, several; but I don't recollect one upon a sea-pressing. Not one..... It is a late time of day, indeed, never to have had a precedent....

"But it is a matter of great consequence to the public service to put it in a right way; that whoever ought to be pressed, may be pressed without litigation; and whoever ought not to be pressed, and are pressed, may have a speedy way of getting their liberty."

* The tract is not in his own catalogue.

† A marginal note written by Mr. G. S. in a copy of this work, (lent to me by the kindness of a friend), alludes to its having determined the Aldermen to resist Lord Mansfield, if he had remanded Millachip.

The Attorney-General, met the case on the open ground of an authorised right of pressing, agreeably to the warrant of the Lords of the Admiralty*; but the discussion of that right was waved by Lord Mansfield, and the result, therefore, of the proceeding was not in any degree correspondent to Mr. Sharp's ardent expectations, always comprising the largest possible scope of consequences. "His Lordship the Judge," says his Manuscript, "very carefully avoided saying any thing to justify the measure of pressing, and postponed the question, saying, 'the return to the writ of Habeas Corpus is improper,' so that the man was at liberty†.'"

"Now all," adds Mr. S., "that was afterwards argued on both sides, about the peculiar exemption of Millachip as a citizen of London, was foreign to the true purpose and intention of the City prosecution, and served the opposite party as a means of evading it. This narrow, partial ground of defence, instead of obtaining for Millachip an immediate discharge, to which as an Englishman he was entitled, served only as a handle against him to hold him still in suspense under a sort of bail; the City Solicitor engaging to produce him when called upon‡."

* The affidavit, on which the writ was granted, represented that Millachip was "a freeman and liveryman of the city of London, and that he had a right to vote for members of Parliament." The return merely set forth the usual Admiralty warrant, and declared the situation of the man impressed to be that of a waterman working on the Thames, liable, in that respect, to the service.

† "The present return, therefore," his Lordship said, "was not a good one, or sufficient to have the man remanded."—(*Minutes of the Case of Millachip.*)

‡ It appears, by evidence in a later cause (ex parte Randall, 1791), that he was actually produced, but no consequent proceedings are found to have taken place, and Mr. Sharp, therefore, considered the conduct of the Court as evasive. The minutes of the proceedings in the case of Millachip were closed by the following memorandum:—"Cause stands over, to give the Attorney-General time to consider of his argument upon what was thrown out by the Court."

On this Mr. Sharp remarks with great severity, "Is it not manifest, from the repeated declarations of the Chief Justice, that the *cause itself is thrown out* by the Court, and that the man was *instanter* set at liberty, when the Court declared *the return not sufficient to have him remanded?* The personal rights of this man are sacred and inestimable, and are not to be set up as a butt to exercise sophistry. Besides, it is a maxim in the law, that the cause of liberty is to be favoured before all other causes: 'Humana natura in libertatis causâ favorem

In the prosecution of his indefatigable efforts to obtain knowledge on this important subject, Granville procured accounts of the total number of men who died on board the guardships after being pressed, and persevered in his inquiries until he had collected a list also of the losses to the navy by seamen flying into foreign service, in order to avoid the press*. Yet, after the cause of Millachip, he does not any where appear to have made a further attempt to establish a general rule of redress, as he had done in the case of the Negro slaves.

In the course of his exertions concerning impressed seamen, his notes record an interview with Dr. Johnson.

MS. "May 20, 1779.—Called on Dr. Johnson. Had a long debate with him about the legality of pressing seamen. He said 'it was a condition necessarily attending that way of life; and when they entered into it, they must take it with all its circumstances; and, knowing this, it must be considered as voluntary service,—like an inn-keeper, who knows himself liable to have soldiers quartered upon him.'"

semper magis quam in aliis causis deprecatur,' and 'Anglica jura in omni causâ libertati dant favorem.' *Fortescue.*"

* He seems, by the following letters, to have had great difficulty in effecting the object of his research.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir,—Being made acquainted of your desire to obtain information respecting the mortality of impressed men on board the guardships at the Nore, I wrote to my relation, Mr. ——— at Chatham, to request he would procure all the information he could. The enclosed is his answer. I heartily wish it could have been more satisfactory."

"With respectful compliments, &c. &c.

"Greenwich, May 18, 1778. "S. G. MILLS."

[ENCLOSURE.]

"I have made all the inquiry I could, and find it very difficult to obtain any account, and at best a very uncertain one; for as soon as the men are taken ill, there is a boat, called the sick-boat, takes them away: some are sent to Sheerness, and some to the hospital at Rochester: if they die at either of those places, the returns are made separately.

"As they are sent away from the guardship, they are discharged from their books under the head *D. S. Q.*—that is, *discharged sick*, with a *quere;* or, *discharged to sick quarters*. If they die, there is no return made of their death to the ship."

That the cause was strenuously contested between two such combatants, there can be little question. But the strength of Granville's talents did not lie in debate; and he felt severely the power of Dr. Johnson's reasoning. He was roused by it to a conviction of the light in which many zealous and well-intentioned men might be induced to view his conduct on the occasion; and he thus makes his own apology:—

MS. "I have been told, that it is the common lot of the poor and laborious part of mankind to endure hardships and inconveniences; that the pressing and forcing them into service is no injustice, nor illegality, being nothing more than one necessary contingent circumstance of their low condition of life, in which they were bred; and that the *cruelty* rather rests with persons, who, like me, take notice of their grievances, and render them unhappy by persuading them that they are so. All this has been urged to me with such plausible sophistry, and important self-sufficiency of the speaker, as if he supposed that the mere sound of words was capable of altering the nature of things; as if there were no distinction between good and evil, but the circumstances of persons, or occasions, might render it expedient or necessary to practise the one as well as the other. Thus the tyrant's plea of necessity is made to remove all bounds of law, morality, and common right! But 'Woe be to them that call evil good, and good evil!' Happy would it be for this nation, and the eternal souls of such as mislead it, if the feelings of the seamen and other laborious poor had no other stimulation than the recital of their unhappy case by such poor advocates as myself! Are they not surely of the same blood; have they not the same natural knowledge of good and evil, to discern, and the same feelings to be sensible of injuries, as those who cause their sufferings?

"It is to prevent and dissuade from acts of violence and injustice, but surely not to aggravate the sense of them, that such circumstances are noticed. Nay, it is charity towards the oppressors, as

well as the oppressed, to endeavour to convince them of their error; and how can this be done, but by speaking of the oppressions? It is even a crime to be silent on such occasions; for the Scriptures command, 'Open thy mouth; judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.' Prov. xxxi. 9. Nay, it is the cause of God himself, who has declared, 'For the oppressor of the poor reproacheth his Maker; but he that honoureth him, hath mercy on the poor.' Proverbs xiv. 31."

He uses the same arguments in a letter to a friend about this time, wherein, after stating his conversation with Dr. Johnson, he adds:

"I am far from being ready at giving an immediate answer to subtle arguments, so that I may seem to be easily baffled; indeed, even when I am by no means convinced that they have the least weight. If this doctrine were really true, that men choosing a sea-faring life do thereby forfeit their natural rights and privileges as Englishmen, and lose the protection of the law, some immediate remedy ought to be applied, to remove so unjust a *premunire* from an honest and necessary calling. For, whatever takes away the protection of the law, and common rights, from any man or set of men, is, to all intents and purposes, a premunire, which, if we except judgment of death, is the severest prohibition that is known in the English laws; and therefore it is unjust and iniquitous, as well as impolitic in the highest degree, that the honest mariner's condition and employment should be loaded with such a baneful contingency, which must be considered as the most effectual discouragement to the increase of British seamen in this maritime island (though the defence of it depends upon their help), that could possibly have been devised.

"'But we see,' says an advocate for power, 'that it *does not* discourage; men are still bred up to a seafaring life, and in times of peace multitudes are allured by the merchant's service to choose that condition, whereby they are subjected to the impress.' True it is, that the necessities of poor labouring men compel them to earn their bread in any way that they can get it; and when a war is over, the discouragement of pressing is in a great measure forgot, and the number of seamen of course is again increased. But this makes no difference with respect to the injustice and *illegality* of the oppression itself;

for if the poor man is not protected in an honest calling (which is his estate and most valuable dependence), as well as the rich man in his estate, the law, or rather the administrators of it, are unjust and partial; having respect of persons, which the law itself abhors, and which religion strictly forbids. And therefore, if we can form any precise definition of iniquity, this partiality, of which I complain, comes fairly within the meaning of that term."

CHAP. II.

WHILE Mr. Sharp was thus exerting himself as an active associate in defending the rights of English citizens, he continued to view with unmingled regret the distant but disastrous contest which was about to rend asunder the British Empire. Patriotism, in his heart, embraced without distinction our colonies and our homes; and we find him (in his minutes of this time) anxiously taking a part which, though not invested with any public authority, was connected with the most considerable interests in the minds of the contending parties.

His reputation stood high in America, in consequence of his extraordinary acts of philanthropy; and the esteem of his general character had there become established on a far more extensive scale than in his own country. It has appeared, from the letters of his friend Benezet, that his written opinions, as well as his printed works, concerning slavery, had been actively dispersed over the several provinces; that the legal distinctions of their colonial rights, which his penetrating mind quickly saw and suggested, were disseminated through all ranks of society; and that the public mode of action was in conformity with his writings. His suggestions had, indeed, contributed to turn the thoughts of many among the colonists to constitutional points, which, however momentous, had before lain unexamined by them, as not hitherto called into view by the relative dependencies of the two countries; and he thus became, unintentionally, though not unconsciously, an instrument in the great work of American Independence.

When Dr. Franklin, in 1774, sent to America 250 copies of his "Declaration of the Rights of the People to a Share in the Legis-"lature," the work was immediately reprinted at Boston in an edition

of 7000 copies, and in another at New York, published by a society of gentlemen. A farther edition was printed at Philadelphia; and it was, moreover, printed piece-meal in one of the public journals; and by those means circulated throughout the Colonies.

All these successes were diligently communicated to him, by men who were then rising to political eminence in America, and who courted his acquaintance; and this new intercourse appears to have been the real source of the opinions that have been given to the public, that Mr. Sharp had been *secretly*, and "*even without himself suspecting it*," employed in a kind of diplomatic capacity by the heads of the United States, to treat for their interests with the Parent Country*.

That he took a considerable interest in the cause of the Colonies, in their assertion of what he judged to be their just rights and in the growing progress of their constitutional liberties, his own manuscript documents abundantly show; and the testimonies of respectable Americans, still living, confirm that "Mr. Sharp was always considered by their nation as zealous in their behalf, from the most disinterested motives, and that they respected his integrity and his love of

* The following passage appeared in the Obituary Account of Mr. Sharp before-mentioned:

"The Congress had such an opinion of his uprightness, that they selected him, without his knowledge, as a mediator between themselves and the Government of Great Britain, in their dispute with the latter. To forward their design, they sent Dr. Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane, both of celebrated memory, to Paris. These found an opportunity there of corresponding with Mr. Sharp, and of sending him their proposals. Mr. Sharp accepted the commission. He wrote accordingly to Lord George Germaine, who was then in office; and a correspondence took place in consequence between them, which, as we know it was preserved by Mr. Sharp, must be now in the possession of his family."

From whatever source the above information was derived, it is, I apprehend, wholly unfounded, since none of Mr. Sharp's family ever heard of Silas Deane as one of his correspondents, or knew any thing of the correspondence alluded to with Lord George Germaine; and I can safely affirm, that amongst the papers contained in twelve large boxes of MSS. and other works left by Mr. G. S., there is no symptom of such a correspondence with any of the persons above stated. The letters between him and Dr. Franklin are of no such nature. Indeed, it appears highly improbable that a commission should have been sent from Mr. Silas Deane or Dr. Franklin with a view to reconciliation with England, when it is considered that they resided at Paris for the express purpose of arranging an union between America and France; and of procuring a public acknowledgment of the independence of the United States.

universal liberty, as the dignified characteristics of his sentiments and conduct."

It was here, that the strongly distinguishing powers of his mind again marked out to him the strict line of political justice, from which his path in life never deviated. It was indeed easy, in the warmth of party feelings, to form a mistaken conception of his motives of action; and it is not surprising to find that about this time (February 11, 1777) Lord E——, and another leader of the popular party, called on him "for the purpose of discoursing on the illegality of the intended dispensation of the laws." But he had no sentiments in common with the organs of democratical zeal. He was a strict and zealous loyalist; and the definition of legal liberty, given by Mr. Serjeant Davy on the trial of Somerset, might with strict propriety have been stated to express the sentiments of Mr. Sharp himself*. While he sought, in the most open manner, to add the full weight of his opinions in favour of peace with America, he was careful to avoid every step that might bear the appearance of ranging himself under the banners of a faction; and a single memorandum of the ensuing year will show how resolutely he adhered to that honourable line of conduct:—

MS. "Nov. 23, 1778.—Received a letter from my friend Mr. ——, inviting me to dine with him on Tuesday next, to meet Governor ——, in these terms: 'Our friend Governor —— would be happy to have the pleasure of meeting you, and of deploring with you, in friendly confidence, the misery and ruin of this devoted country,' &c. This was so like the style in which the Governor sought private conferences in America, that I thought it prudent to send an immediate answer, that I was sorry I could not wait on him."

* I am not talking of licentiousness, nor [of liberty] in the sense some men understand it; but, "*true genuine liberty* is the birthright and inheritance of the people of this country. *That*, I desire to be understood, is no other liberty than that of *being governed by certain laws, as making a part of those people.*"—*Minutes of the Case of Somerset.*

But it was consistent with the general tenour of human nature, that, conscious of his own rectitude, and finding his opinions embraced and inculcated in America, and his views seconded there by men of the highest and most leading character, Granville should entertain no common hopes that his benevolent suggestions might have equal influence in his own country. Cold indeed must have been the heart, that could have forborn to share in such expectations:—the lessons of worldly experience alone were able to dissolve the illusion. Nor yet was he without sufficient grounds of encouragement; for so established was the general opinion of his extreme integrity, and of the perfect disinterestedness of his views, that, in the course of various negotiations with persons of all classes, he had acquired a weight of a particular nature, which few political, or even official, situations are found to confer. His opinions, though from their excessive purity often conceived to be eccentric or visionary, were listened to with attention and deference: he was consulted, referred to, and employed by all parties.

His avowed object was the reconciliation of England with her American Colonies, previous to any confirmation of their independence by foreign powers; and the beginning of his extraordinary work of mediation was in the year 1777. He has himself left a full account of it, from which the following extract is taken:—

MS. "In March 1777, when the impolitic and ruinous war against the British American Colonies had continued nearly two years, G. S. was accidentally in company with two gentlemen, whose connections with the Americans by relationship and mercantile correspondence rendered them perfectly acquainted with American affairs; and G. S. found, in the course of conversation with them, that they agreed in admitting. 'That the United States of America, notwith-
'standing their late declaration of Independence, were still inclined to
'a re-union with England, even *under the Crown*, provided his Majesty's
'ministers would give them *a proof of their sincerity* in treating.'

Encouraged by this declaration, Mr. Sharp made inquiries as to the nature of the proof which America would require in order to induce her return to a friendly footing with the Parent Country; hinting, at the same time, his own ideas on the subject. He was, in reply, assured, 'That if the proper *Constitutional* terms of reconciliation 'consistent with *their natural rights as British subjects*, were tendered to 'them within two or three months from that time, it would be so 'unquestionable a proof of the sincerity of our Government in its 'professions of redress and amity, as would be most gladly accepted 'by the Americans.' But they at the same time declared, that '*after* '*the expiration of six months from that time, no terms short of independency* '*would or could be accepted**."

In consequence of this conversation, Mr. Sharp, on the 14th of the same month, waited on the Secretary of State, with whom he was allowed to hold a long conference, "on the expediency of making peace with America, and of giving such a proof of the sincerity of our Government in treating on the subject as would effectually promote an attempt to bring that country back to its allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain." It was made evident, in the course of the conference, that the proof which was demanded must include such an alteration in our House of Commons as would ensure to the American Colonies as fair and equal rights as those enjoyed by the several counties of England*. The mode of effecting this important measure was the next topic proposed, and Granville's active thoughts were instantly on the wing. With the approbation of the Noble Secretary, he employed several days in searching for and examining precedents, and in making particular extracts, for his Lordship's perusal.

A letter, which bears date about a week after the above interview, shows that he punctually fulfilled his engagement.

* See Dr. Franklin's Correspondence, p. 150. Letter from Governor Pownall, concerning an equal communication of rights and privileges to America by Great Britain.

G. S. to the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth.

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, 22d March, 1777.

"I have the honour to enclose the extracts from Prynne, which I promised to your Lordship, relative to the examples of joint elections for all the knights, citizens, and burgesses of some particular counties, at one time and place for each county respectively, and which I humbly proposed as precedents, from whence some wholesome regulations might be adopted for the reduction of the enormous inequality of Parliamentary Representation at present enjoyed by the petty venal boroughs, to the manifest injury of the counties and great cities, and, indeed, to the extreme danger of the whole state (by facilitating Parliamentary corruption, and depriving the King of the faithful disinterested counsels and genuine sentiments of the nation); a measure which alone can ensure the safety and dignity of the Crown*.

"With great respect, My Lord, &c."

To the above extracts he added his own occasional remarks; the whole forming the substance of a tract published by him, in 1780, entitled, "Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and good Government†."

But literary research did not form the bounds of his zeal on this occasion. It appears, from a letter written some months later, to the Duke of Richmond, that he added a tender of his personal service in support of the propositions which he had suggested. With the accustomed warmth of his language he says—

* Of the extracts here mentioned [from Prynne's scheme of "more just and equal Representation in Parliament,"] he has left the following memorandum, written on the outside of the copy reserved for himself:

"The original extract was written and transmitted to those for whose inspection it was intended."—"This was drawn up at the desire of Lord Dartmouth, being the proposal of G. S. to several Americans, who had expressed the earnest desire of their countrymen to submit themselves once more under the Crown of England, provided the King's Ministers will give them a proof of their sincerity in treating with them."

† Since printed as the first and second tracts in his work "On the Legal Means of Political Reformation."

"I asserted, that I would undertake to bring back the American Empire to a constitutional allegiance under the Crown of Great Britain—these seem vain swelling words—I even added, that I would pledge my life for the success, provided a proper pledge could be given of our sincerity in treating." . . . . "Your Grace," he continues, "will of course desire to know, what reasons such an inconsiderable and obscure person as myself could have, to justify the confidence, or (if you please) the assurance, with which I proposed to undertake the office of a peace-maker between such high and mighty States. I will freely declare them."

[His reasons consist in the circumstances of the conversation above related*, and in the singular favour with which his writings had been received in America, particularly his "Declaration of the Rights of the People."]

"Now, the purport," he says, "of that book was, to shew the necessity and advantage of preserving the ancient constitutional connection of the Colonies with the Mother Country, by means of the common reciprocal ties of allegiance to the imperial Crown of Great Britain; citing Ireland as the legal precedent—it being a distinct kingdom, governed by its own independent parliament, and nevertheless firmly united to this kingdom by the bands of allegiance to one head, or monarchy, of limited power; by which glorious system, if duly maintained, all might be equally free, and all equally defended from foreign invaders. Such being the topic and purport of the book, a general approbation of it in America afforded clear demonstration that the great body of the people were not really inclined to republicanism; though, perhaps, many individuals among them were of a contrary spirit, which will probably have been much increased since that time, by subsequent publications, as the people became more and more irritated by *military peace-makers*. And, lastly, though I profess to have no sufficient talents either of speech, memory, or art, which might be deemed necessary for a formal negotiation with subtle or designing men, yet I flattered myself that I should not be despised by the real lovers of liberty and peace among them; for I conceived that my writings, with which they are already so well

* He states the similar expressions also of several other Americans, "zealous friends of liberty; all of whom agreed, and that separately, as if with one soul, that they sincerely believed a majority of the people would be glad to maintain their constitutional connection with the Mother Country."

acquainted, would demonstrate my earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of all parties; and that my *sincerity* at least would not be doubted or suspected, especially as several of the provinces were also well acquainted with my endeavours, long before this unhappy rupture, to put a stop to the abominable oppression of the poor Negroes among them, and, consequently, that my earnest love of liberty is founded on general principles, totally free from national partiality and the mean prejudices of party *.

Granville's exertions in this desirable point of reconciliation between the two countries, were seconded by his friend General Oglethorpe's recommendation of him to Lord Chatham. In one of his notes of this time, he says: "Communicated to General Oglethorpe what had passed between Lord Dartmouth and myself. The General informed me of Lord Chatham's interview with the King, Lord Bute being present; also of a second interview, and the circumstances. This was in consequence of the General having, in a previous discourse with Lord Chatham, acquainted him that he knew a person (though he would not mention my name) that might be usefully employed in promoting peace."

He had, many years after, the melancholy gratification of finding that his plan was indeed submitted to the Ministry, as above hinted; but it wanted other arguments than those of peace and charity, to procure its adoption. It was overruled, and the fatal term expired†.

* The same disinterested principles, in regard to the mutual connection of the two countries and the due supremacy of England, are fully shown in several other letters. His paramount object was, to preserve his country from the imputation of injustice, which he conceived to be disgraceful to it; and from the expense of a war, which he perceived to be ruinous. Many collateral testimonies assist to prove, that, although his benevolence was *universal*, the interests of America never infringed on the duties which he, as an Englishman, felt to be owing to this kingdom. In a letter from a correspondent at Boston, in Oct. 1774, the following expression occurs:—"Your generous concern for this country heightens our opinion and increases our respect towards you. *You hope*," Sir, "*the people of Boston will continue most strictly to maintain their loyalty and constitutional allegiance to the British Crown*," &c.

† On the subject of this anecdote, I have made every research in my power, and consulted those authorities from which I was most likely to derive instruction. Its value obviously

The following memorandums present an account of some further particulars, which show the interest still taken by Mr. Sharp in the present subject.—

℔S. February 17, 1778.—" Waited on the Duke of Richmond, and had a conference with him of about two hours on the state of public affairs. He read to me his Apology for the Ministry of 1765, in admitting the 'Declaratory Act for a Right to make Laws &c. for America in all Cases whatever;' and he told me the purport of the motions he intended to make for a reconciliation with America.

" April 7.—His Grace the Duke of * * * * showed me the copy of a letter which he wrote to Lord Chatham, expressing his desire of acting with unanimity in the present exigency, to procure an accommodation with America; and also, Lord Chatham's answer, rejecting the proposal, and insisting upon the sovereignty of

depends on the source from whence those, who authorised Mr. S. to propose the *six months' interval*, derived their authority; (and on the authenticity of a letter which will presently be mentioned. If both were valid, the anecdote is highly interesting.) That source I have not been able to discover: it may be, that the nature of the transaction demanded secrecy as to its *movers*. It will be recollected, by those who are familiar with the history of the American contest, that the period at which Mr. Sharp's proposal for reconciliation was brought forward, was that of a most anxious *crisis*, when the Congress was divided by internal dissensions, the American army diminished and impoverished, several of the officers disgusted, and retiring from the service, the merchants suffering under embarrassments occasioned by the actual state of affairs, the people discontented, and the war against England becoming in a high degree unpopular.—See (Marshal's) Life of General Washington, whose characteristic firmness of mind at this trying moment is admirably described, Vol. ii. p. 527.

It appears probable, that if the offers which our Government thought fit to send to America, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, more than twelve months after, had been cordially and sincerely made at the instant here spoken of, they would have been attended with a far greater prospect of success than at any other period during the war.

I am enabled to add a confirmation of Mr. Sharp's statement, from an American of high respectability residing in this country, who, in August 1815, related to me, that " two brothers of the name of * * * * * * *, (whom he had before mentioned, and) one of whom had been for many years resident in London, were the persons employed to hold forth the propositions of reconcilement between the two countries; that the other brother waited some weeks in London, in the hopes of being listened to, and then, growing impatient, went back to America, while the former continued the proposition for six months."

England; and that he would be at the House as this day, to maintain his opinion.

"April 8.—The sequel is well known. Lord Chatham persisted in his violent resolution, and went yesterday to the House of Lords to maintain it; was fully answered by the Duke of Richmond; and was so affected that he fainted, and was carried out."

CHAP. III.

HIS efforts to suspend the mutual bloodshed of the two countries having failed, Granville once more bent his thoughts, and with increased earnestness, to the subject of African slavery, on which he entertained hopes of making a far more successful progress. In the memorandums which are next to be laid before the reader, will be found the spring that set in motion the vast and important engine of public opinion, in regard to the abolition of the infamous Slave Trade. It is impossible not to be impressed with fresh admiration, when we behold the indefatigable constancy of a virtuous man in the cause of his helpless fellow-creatures. Immeasurable as the distance of redress and the difficulty of the enterprise appeared to be, his mind was fixed on an attempt to eradicate that disgrace of a civilised empire. He was aware that he was without power; but perseverance and the span of life were in his hands, and he resolved on devoting both to the benevolent purpose of his ambition. The zeal with which his first applications were met, and which gave confidence to his endeavours, will also claim our respect. The honour of our country is involved in both.

The reader is well acquainted with the progress in America of a friendly disposition towards the Negro Slaves, which had first manifested itself about the year 1770, and which has been shown also in the letter of the Quaker Benezet. It was increased in 1773, by the literary labours of Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, whose writings had a very extensive circulation, and served greatly to promote the good cause for which they were undertaken. In 1774, Dr. Rush, in conjunction with James Pemberton, and others of the most conspicuous among the Quakers in Pennsylvania, undertook to unite in one body

all those of different religious persuasions who were zealous in behalf of the African sufferers; and hence arose a society, which was confined to Pennsylvania, and was the first of that nature ever formed in America.

This society had scarcely begun to act, when the war broke out with England, and materially checked its operations. The *cause*, however, did not languish in the minds of good men, although, from the calamitous circumstances that followed the commencement of an unnatural contest, it was unfortunately confined to those alone.

Mr. Sharp's mental engagements bound him alike to the service of religion and freedom; and a sense of his united duties appeared strongly in the conduct which he adopted respecting the condition of African slaves. It has been stated to be the natural bias of his disposition to turn at once to the most powerful sources of aid in every arduous undertaking. His deeply religious sentiments had led him to a just consideration of the advantages to be derived from the important character of the dignitaries of our church; and he was readily induced to believe, that a vigorous appeal to men of exalted Christian principles could not be hopeless. The ministers of that religion which had first broken down the hostile barriers between nation and nation, and had in its progress abolished slavery in a large part of the world, he conceived to be the fittest, and therefore likely to be the warmest, advocates for the perfecting so great a work, and diffusing the love and charity of the Gospel over the furthest corners of the earth.

We must, for a moment, trace his action back to the point at which we left the concerns of the Slave Trade in the former part of the narrative.

Soon after the successful conclusion of Somerset's cause, he sent the following letter, in the fulness of hope, for the perusal of the Archbishop of York (Dr. Drummond), of whose concurring solicitude in the cause of freedom he had received the most gratifying assurances.

G. S. to Mr. Lloyd, Gray's Inn, for his Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of York.

" Sir, " Old Jewry, July 30, 1772.

" I received a letter yesterday from my friend Mr. Alleyne, to acquaint me that his Grace the Archbishop of York desires to see the proceedings in the case of Somerset the Negro, and he directs me to send them to you.

" The arguments of the two first days I have given out to be copied on purpose for his Grace: the other copies shall be forwarded to you as soon as they are finished. I am under great apprehensions lest a toleration of slavery should take place next winter by Parliamentary authority; because the West-India merchants, I am informed, intend to move for it, and make all the interest they can to carry their point. This is the more alarming, because Mr. —— was very near carrying his motion upon that head in the last meeting of Parliament. The consequences of such a measure, were it to succeed at last, would be dreadful.

" With these apprehensions, I had intended to address myself to the Right Reverend the Bishops and Clergy, and to submit to their consideration whether this matter does not demand their intervention; and whether it does not properly fall within their province, as watchful pastors of the flock and ministers of the Gospel of peace, to stand in the gap, and exert their utmost abilities, as well as interest, to prevent so dangerous an accession of licentiousness and hardness of heart as must unavoidably accompany a toleration of slavery, which is the most abominable oppression of all others, and, consequently, the most hateful in the sight of God. Think therefore, Sir, what satisfaction and comfort I must receive from the information which Mr. Alleyne has given me, that his Grace the Archbishop of York is become a warm advocate for the cause of freedom! The success of my intended application to the Clergy, as coming from a very inconsiderable layman, must at best have been doubtful; but the influence and worthy example of the Archbishop of York cannot fail of having their due weight, especially if his Grace should think proper to confer on this subject with his Right Reverend Brethren the Bishops, that they may unite their influence and authority as a body. Give me leave to add, that the honour of our Episcopal Church is not a little concerned in the present question. Be assured, Sir, that a union of the venerable Bench of Bishops upon this point would have a very conciliating and cordial effect upon the Dissenters from our Church. I am certain that it would

be most kindly taken, and heartily approved by the Dissenters in general. To convince you of this, I have taken the liberty to enclose the copy of a letter which I lately received from a very benevolent Quaker at Philadelphia, who is an eminent merchant of that place. He speaks confidently, 'that the Presbyterians would be well pleased to see an end put to the Slave Trade;' and his own people, the Quakers, 'have already given several convincing proofs of their abhorrence of such tyranny; a recent instance of which you may see in the General Epistle from their Yearly Meeting in London last Whitsuntide.'

"The Methodists are also highly offended at the scandalous toleration of slavery in our colonies, if I may judge by the sentiments of one of their principal teachers, Mr. Wesley—though, indeed, I have never had any communication with that gentleman but on this particular point.

"One of the leading people, likewise, among the Moravians, has written me several very earnest letters upon the subject. Nay, even the Church of Rome has been honoured by the endeavours of one of her sons, the benevolent and indefatigable Bishop of Chiapa, against this crying sin. The Bishop's arguments are still extant, and it is not improbable that the same may have occasioned the present excellent regulations in favour of slaves in the Spanish colonies,which are worthy the attention and imitation of the British legislature, as being the safest means of annihilating Slavery in the West Indies: besides, it will be an indelible shame to us, if we are behind the Spaniards in acts of mercy.

"I have taken the liberty to send herewith, one of Mr. Benezet's books, and two other pamphlets, lately printed, against Slavery; lest the Archbishop should not have seen them. I have also sent my own tracts on that head, the Appendix of which, I believe, his Grace has never seen.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant," &c. &c.

The letter to Mr. Lloyd was followed by another to the Archbishop himself, enclosing a copy of the arguments employed in Somerset's case.

On engaging anew in the cause of the African Slaves, and on entering into the more enlarged measures which the Pennsylvanian Association suggested, Mr. Sharp commenced a course of personal application to the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom; and we shall find him, from this time, during the course of several years,

unwearied in seeking the means to impress his own sentiments on every person in those elevated situations to whom he could obtain access. Nor was he mistaken in *their* hearts to whom he appealed. He experienced very early the zealous promptitude of another Reverend Prelate to aid his labours. "It is my duty," he says, (in a note on the names of York and Talbot), "to acknowledge the pious zeal of a most worthy descendant of the York family, the Lord Bishop of Ely, in condescending to communicate my opinion against Slavery to his Right Reverend Brethren the Bishops; so that, when I waited upon them individually, they all (with the exception of only two or three, whose opinions I could not obtain), most decidedly expressed their resolution to oppose slavery."

His own letters and notes will best explain his progress.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp. [EXTRACT.]

"Dear Brother, March 1779.

"I have lately made it my business to call upon the Archbishops and Bishops, to request their influence and assistance towards putting a stop to the Slave Trade, as the House of Commons have appointed a Committee to examine into the state of the *African trade*, and therefore, I think, there is an opportunity of exposing the iniquity of it, which ought not to be let slip. I have called upon all the Bishops that are in town, and are not invalids; and have had the honour of being admitted to seventeen out of the whole number; and I have the pleasure to find, that they all seem inclined to oppose the Slave Trade, but some are very zealous against it.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of Litchfield, St. David's, St. Asaph, London, Ely, Bangor, and Oxford, strongly express their horror against it; and the Bishop of Peterborough, since I called on him, has exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner, in calling upon a variety of people that have knowledge of the trade, and reading all books that he can find upon the subject, in order that he may be enabled to answer the pleas of interested people who endeavour to promote the trade." &c. &c.

N.B. "1779. Memorandum.—This spring I have, at different times, had the honour of conversing with twenty-two out of the

twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops, on the subject of the Slave Trade, during the time that the African affairs were under the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons; and I met with none that did not concur with my sentiments on the subject. A very great majority of them gave me reason to hope that they would publicly oppose any further encouragement of the Slave Trade, had it come before them in the House of Lords. This was the more agreeable to me, because I found they did not oppose, nor take amiss, my appeal to them, in my tract 'On the Law of Retribution,' sent to each of them more than two years before. Both the Archbishops, and the Bishops of Durham, London, Oxford, Litchfield, Bristol, Norwich, Llandaff, Ely, Bangor, Worcester, St. Asaph, and Lincoln, expressed themselves very handsomely on the occasion, and seemed very desirous of putting a stop to the evil. The Bishop of St. David's (Dr. York) was particularly polite, as well as earnest in the business, and afterwards wrote me a letter, signifying his desire to join most heartily with any person who would propose an effectual and proper mode of opposing the Slave Trade; and the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliff) took a great deal of pains to make himself master of the subject, that he might be ready to exert himself to the utmost, when the business should have passed the House of Commons. But, while the matter was before the Committee, accounts being received of the capture of our African settlements, the chief seat and source of all the iniquities and enormities which I opposed, the Committee, it seems, had directions from the Ministry not to proceed in their report."

An extract from the Bishop of St. Davids' letter, mentioned by Mr. Sharp, will show the obstacles against which he had to contend, arising from the general disposition of the times.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " Brook Street, March 14, 1779.

" I return you Mr. Benezet's book, and keep the copy of your tract on Retribution, which, by mistake, had not been acknowledged as your kind

present to me some time since. At the same time, I repeat my thanks for the additional tracts received from you.

"They are replete with religious benevolence and humanity, and, both in facts and reasoning, carry conviction on a subject which natural sensibility and common sense alone must reprobate. But the powers of custom, indolence, and interest, are violent oppugners of reformation. It will give me the greatest satisfaction to co-operate with abler advocates than myself, at any favourable moment, in the advancement of so liberal and Christian a cause as this, for which you are so warm an advocate.

"With due respect, &c. &c. "JAMES ST. DAVID'S."

The following is of the same time and tenour.

Dr. Fothergill to Granville Sharp. [EXTRACT.]

"Esteemed Friend, "Harpur Street, 11th inst. [March, 1779.]

"I am very desirous of a little conversation on the subject of the Negroes. By the accounts I have received from our Friends in North America, many of the Blacks belonging to them are made free, and even in these hard times they are looking forward to find means of giving their children some education.

"It is not a time to hope much good to liberty from some of our superiors here, nor do I think any great point can be carried; yet I could have wished to have said something on this subject.

"Thy assured Friend," &c. &c.

Notwithstanding these inauspicious presages, the results of Granville's earnest and solemn appeals gradually began to display themselves.

MS. "Feb. 22, 1781.—The Bishop of Peterborough called on me this day, to inquire particularly concerning the Spanish regulations for the gradual enfranchisement of Negro Slaves in America*; and he mentioned his plan for a Bill in Parliament, to soften, and gradually reduce, the Slavery in the West Indies.

"23.—Called on Mr. Brook Watson about the Spanish regulations desired by the Bishop of Peterborough. Wrote to the Bishop.

* The *Spanish Regulations* will be inserted in the Appendix.

"March 14.—The Bishop of Peterborough called on me this day. I mentioned to his Lordship a letter, which I received last year from the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. York), declaring his readiness to join with any gentleman in opposing the Slave Trade; and I mentioned also the kind behaviour of the Bishop of Litchfield (Dr. Hurd), to the same purpose: whereupon, the Bishop of Peterborough agreed to call on both those Bishops, and, with them, to wait upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, to request a meeting of all the Bishops on this subject.

"May God prosper the intention, for the good of all!"

Of the favourable disposition of the Bishops towards the cause of the suffering Africans, he speaks again with gratitude and pleasure, in a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, dated 1781, giving farther particulars of their behaviour, and adding an anecdote of a very interesting nature.

[EXTRACT.]

"Old Jewry, March 17, 1781.

"My Lord,

"Since I had the honour of conversing with your Lordship, I have thought myself remiss in not mentioning to you the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Keen, as one of your Lordship's brethren who would be likely to assist you. For, on the former occasion, in 1779, he promised, that, if any thing in favour of the Slave Trade should be brought into the House of Lords, he *would certainly go down to the House on purpose to oppose it.*

"The Bishop of Durham also told me, at that time, he believed that any thing in favour of the Slave Trade would be opposed in their House. The Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Moore) was particularly civil to me on that occasion (as he always is on every other), and so also the Bishops of London, Oxford, Rochester, Norwich, Carlisle, Llandaff, St. Asaph, Bristol, and Worcester, besides the two Metropolitans. The Bishop of Chester was not in town at that time, so that I had no opportunity of knowing his sentiments; but believe, from his general character, that he would be willing to lend a helping hand in so charitable a business. The Bishops of Gloucester and Litchfield I had the honour of mentioning before to your Lordship, as being particularly zealous to oppose Slavery; and indeed, in justice to all the other Bishops not yet named to

your Lordship, I am bound to declare, that I have no reason to suppose that any of them will refuse their concurrence and assistance in this matter. . . . . Mr. Benezet, in one of his letters to me, complained of a sermon, preached before the Society for propagating the Gospel, by the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Green, as being very opposite to the doctrine preached two years before by the Bishop of Gloucester, (Dr. Warburton). I have not seen Bishop Green's sermon; but whatever sentiments, too favourable to Slavery, he might have entertained at the time he preached this sermon, yet sure I am, that he was afterwards fully convinced of the bad consequences of the Slave Trade; because, after I had presented to him my tract on the Law of Retribution, he, one Sunday morning at St. Paul's, after prayers were over, sent one of the vergers to desire me to meet his Lordship in the aisle; which I did; and he then thanked me for my book, before all the vergers and many other persons that were passing in the aisle, and spoke, loud enough to be heard by all, to the following effect, though I cannot charge my memory with the very words; 'The Slave Trade is a very abominable thing, and ought to be abolished.'

"Your worthy and respectable friend, the Bishop of Llandaff, expressed his indignation against the Slave Trade in very strong terms, when he preached before the Society . . . . . " &c. &c.

99. "March 19, 1781.—The Bishop of Peterborough this morning acquainted me he had seen the Bishop of Gloucester, who is very ready to act with him; that Lord Grantham, one of the Lords of Trade had informed the Bishop of Gloucester of his application to me for the Spanish Regulations, and was very willing to join in regulating slavery.

"The Bishop showed me a paper which he had drawn up upon the plan of the Spanish Regulations, and which he and the Bishop of Gloucester purpose to lay before the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"April 25.—The Bishop of Peterborough called twice this day, and left a proposal in writing relative to the West-India slavery, on which he desired my opinion.

"April 26.—Signified my approbation to the Bishop of Peterborough of the proposed regulations."

CHAP. IV.

BUT it was not in this point alone that Mr. Sharp wished to avail himself of the powerful interference of the Episcopal Clergy: he conceived their duties had a wider scope.

While he was actively forwarding the cause of the suffering Africans, the circumstances which had attended his first political endeavours, on the prospect of a possible reconciliation with America, had so wrought on his mind, that he had, with no less diligence, prepared for the press a collection of legal documents respecting Parliamentary Representation, such as he conceived most likely to elucidate the view of our constitution, and to assist the proper progress of negotiation with America.

These were partly contained in the tract which he had drawn up at the desire of Lord Dartmouth, and which he now (in 1780) published, under the title before mentioned*, with the addition, in the spring of the same year, of three other tracts concerning Annual Parliaments†; a subject on which he had a conversation with Sir Grey Cooper, then Secretary of the Treasury, as will presently be seen. A short note, attached to his memorandum of that conversation, demonstrates the combining powers of his mind in concerns of the greatest importance, and furnishes a just clue of his progressive action during the ensuing period of his life. "My first motive," he says, "for interfering in political reformation, was, an earnest desire to promote *peace with America*; the two subjects being connected with each other, and both with that of tolerating Slavery in America."

* "Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and Good Government."

† See Mr. Sharp's Catalogue of his own writings, in the concluding part of these Memoirs.

He now, therefore, resumed his application to his friend the Bishop of Peterborough.

MS. "6th April, 1781.—Wrote to the Bishop of Peterborough, on the necessity of calling a meeting of the Bishops, to consult on the dangerous situation of public affairs, and of suitable advice from themselves to the Government, in order to avert, if possible, impending vengeance."

In December of the same year he also made repeated applications to the Bishops of Chester and Rochester for the same purpose, but the result of these efforts is not stated.

From the time that he published his tract "On Equitable Representation," he took a very active part in promoting the plan (then in public agitation) of Parliamentary Reform. He entered into an extensive correspondence with the committees of associations formed in various counties; and shortly afterward, finding that his ideas of the legal duration of Parliaments did not coincide with those of several of the committees, he forwarded a printed circular letter to the petitioning counties, cities, and towns, addressed to their respective general meetings; in which he strenuously maintained the doctrine of "annual Parliaments, or more often if need be," in opposition to the proposal which had issued from the general meeting of the county of York, under the influence of the Rockingham party, in favour of triennial Parliaments*.

Among his Manuscripts appears an "Alphabetical List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation, to which Books were sent, and Letters written to each Committee, by G. S." The list contains the names of forty-one general meetings, and their respective chairmen—such was his unrelaxing assiduity, in the prosecution of every measure which he conceived to be conducive to public good†.

* This letter, and the several tracts last mentioned, were likewise collected at a later period, under the same general head as those in the preceding chapter.

† The interest attached at all times to this subject, will, perhaps, justify the record of the following "List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation."

The effect of his protest was different in different counties; all, however, accepting his communications with friendly candour*. In the city of London his opinions had obtained considerable influence, owing to the co-operation of his brother James; and the success

Berks	General Richard Smith.
Bedford	Mr. Dilly.
Bristol	
Bridgewater	John Chubb, Esq.
Bucks	
Cambridge	Thomas Bond, Esq., Mayor.
Cambridgeshire .	Duke of Rutland, and Lord Duncannon, Chairman.
Carnarvon	Sir Thomas Kyffin, Chairman.
Chester County .	The Hon. Mr. Tollermache.
Cumberland	Earl of Surrey.
Derbyshire	Nigel Bowyer Cresley, Esq. High Sheriff.
Denbighshire ...	Francis Gyffin, Esq.
Devonshire	Sir Thomas Acland, and Lord Visc^{t} Courtney, Chairman.
Dorset	Anthony Chapman, Esq.
Essex	The Rev. Mr. Randolph Ekins.
Flint	The Dean of St. Asaph, the Rev. William David Shipley.
General Meeting of Deputies ...	Sir Richard Rycroft.
Gloucestershire .	Sir George Onesiphorus Paul.
Gloucester City .	Mr. Jepson, Town Clerk.
Hampshire	—— Kerby, Esq.
Herefordshire ...	Thos. Phillips, Esq., Chairman.
Hertfordshire ...	—— Scott, Esq.
Huntingdon	Richard Reynolds, Esq.
Kent	Lord Mahon, and —— Robinson, Esq.
London	James Sharp.
Middlesex	Mr. Grieve.
Northampton ...	Dr. Fothergill.
Norfolk	The Rev. Mr. Parr.
Nottinghamshire	Major Cartwright.
Nottingham	Ditto.
Newcastle	Dr. Rotherham.
Northumberland.	John Searle, Esq., Chairman.
Salop	(No Meeting.)
Somerset	The Hon. Col. Somerville.
Suffolk	Thos. Maynard, Esq., Chairman of the General Meeting.
Sussex	Mr. Green; Duke of Richmond.
Surrey	Mr. Bourdieu.
Westminster	Honourable Charles Fox.
Wiltshire	John Awdry, Esq.
York	Gregory Elsley, Esq.
York City	

* His own memorandums notice some partial effects of this correspondence.

MS. "1780. Jan. 1.—Sent to the chairman of the Yorkshire committee the little tract 'On a more Equal Representation of the People;' also, an extract from my 'Declaration of the People's Right to Annual Parliaments.' On the 21st, at a meeting of the committee, they were presented to all the members present. On the same day, several resolutions were passed, to which were added two articles, occasioned by the receipt of those books--viz. to promote regulations for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and for obtaining a more equal representation of the people. On the 27th, received a letter from the chairman, thanking me, by the desire of the committee of sixty-one, for the tract, in a very handsome manner.

"I received thanks also from several other county committees afterwards, on the same account.

"17th Jan.—Received a letter from Wm. Morland, Esq., one of the committee for Surrey, informing me of the objections which had been made by some persons to Annual Parliaments.

"22d March.—I wrote to Mr. Morland a full answer to all those objections."

which there attended them, probably led him to the more extensive measure of a circular letter*.

Of the only two remaining notes which he has left on the subject, the first has been already alluded to:—

MS. "17th April.—Called on Sir Grey Cooper, Secretary of the Treasury, to urge the pressing necessity for the Ministry to adopt the true means of political reformation, now that they had a majority against them;—that a change of *measures* would give more real satisfaction to the nation than a change of *men*.....He replied, 'he did not conceive that Annual Parliaments ever were the Constitution, but only that *a Parliament should sit every year once.*'

"I told him, the *original writ* demonstrated the contrary."

"25th April, 1782.—Alderman Townsend and Lord Fitzmaurice (son of the Earl of Shelburne) called here, and assured me that a Committee of Parliament would be appointed, to consider the means of Parliamentary Reformation, and to print their reports, for consideration another year†."

* MS. "April 8, 1780.—I drew up a warning against the Yorkshire proposition for triennial elections, and also against the aristocratical interest of both parties, in opposing the ancient parliamentary constitution of this kingdom. This warning my brother, James Sharp, read to the City Committee at Guildhall, which prevented their adopting the Yorkshire proposition, for a term not exceeding three years; and my brother James procured a strongly-worded resolution in favour of *annual Parliaments, and more often if need be.*

"11th.—I formed a Circular Letter to several County Meetings, in twelve propositions against triennial elections. Gave a copy of it to my brother, James Sharp, for the Common Council."

† Mr. Sharp's opinions on the legal reform of Parliament were noticed a few years since in the House of Lords, as a subject of regret, on account of the sanction which they appeared to give to some delusive notions of the present time. They will, however, be found, on examination, to have been formed on essentially different grounds.

In a letter (on the duration of Parliaments) which he addressed to a member of one of the committees above spoken of, and which forms one of the distinct tracts in his work "On the Legal Means of Political Reformation," his candour was, as usual, predominant. "If I have made any error," he says, "or misrepresentation, in either of my tracts, let the objectors point it out, and they will find me not backward to submit to truth; for that is my duty to God and man." His arguments in those tracts appear wholly founded on points of fact; and if he was mistaken in those points, a demonstration

Some few minutes, at the periods of 1778, 1781, and 1782, give a faint air of probability to the notion of Mr. S. having been authorised, on the part of America, in the efforts which he made to procure a reconciliation between England and her colonies. It will be seen, that in the minutes of the latter dates the independence of America is no longer represented as doubtful.

MS. "1778, April 6.—Called on Mr. M———, an American merchant in the city, (who had been an agent for North America, had extensive correspondences, and had been a warm loyalist, but was now convinced of the necessity of making peace), and received from his own hands his printed paper, declaring the necessity of passing an Act of Parliament to acknowledge the independence of America.

"May 7.—Called by appointment on the Duke of Richmond, to introduce Mr. Baylor, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia. We had a long conversation, above an hour. The Duke endeavoured to persuade Mr. Baylor, that it would be advantageous to America if she would admit the constitutional connection with this kingdom by the Crown, under due limitation. Mr. Baylor defended the American cause, and could not think that dependence was at all either necessary or expedient."

"1781, March 15.—Mr. Laurens, late President of Congress, and his family, called here.

"June 21.—Having received information from Mr. ———, that while he was in Holland, on account of business, he had some opportunities of conversation with Mr. Adams, the American Envoy; from

of *that* error would have been all that was necessary to detach him wholly from his side of the question. In every questionable point, his admiration of the English Constitution dictated to him *research* into the positive doctrine of the law, and *adherence* solely to what he believed to be so ascertained. His principle was highly laudable: there is no safer guide to the assertion of our public rights, than the study of their history.

whose discourse he gathered, that it was not yet too late to treat with America for peace and commerce, *provided their independence was not denied;* I went this morning to the Duke of ———, but he was out of town.

"23d.—Waited on Lord Dartmouth at Blackheath. I informed his Lordship of the possibility of still treating with America, provided independency was admitted. He said, as both parties seemed to be agreed that America ought to be dependent on Parliament, it would be extremely dangerous for any Minister to admit the independence, as he would be liable to be impeached for treason. I urged the necessity of peace. . . . . No person could be more earnest than I had been, to recommend the measure of continuing America under the Crown, while there was the least probability of doing so; but the time was long past: I had myself given his Lordship timely notice of the very latest period.

"He said, 'the Parliament had very fairly offered the full free constitution of England in 1778;' but I appealed to his Lordship, in reply, whether I had not clearly stated in March 1777, that no terms short of independency could be accepted *six months after the time I waited on him.* The failure, therefore, of the proposal *twelve months* afterwards, was only a proof of the truth of my former information. I told him, that in February 1778, I had communicated to his Grace of ——— what had past; and that the Duke, though still very desirous to persuade the Americans, if possible, that it would be their interest to come again under the power of the Crown, provided it were duly limited according to the Constitution of England, had actually signified to me his willingness to undertake the voyage to America, and to use his endeavours, provided he was allowed powers from Government to admit the independence, in case the other could not be obtained;—that I had not spoke with him since that time on political subjects, but as he had once been willing to accept a commission to treat with America, it was not improbable that he might still be prevailed on to undertake it;—that Lord North was convinced, in March 1778, that an acknowledgment of the independency was in fact necessary; but

that he was intimidated by the opposition of the Lords Chatham, Shelburne, &c. and by that of the other House;—that the absurdity of the Opposition at that time must now be evident; nor did I apprehend that any party could now oppose the making peace with America and the admission of her independency; and that, for my own part, I would run any risk in endeavouring to make peace and save bloodshed; but, if we continued to carry on war till we were totally exhausted, it would be impossible to obtain peace on any reasonable terms;—and I desired him to weigh these matters in his mind, and to signify his commands to me, if he thought I might in any way be serviceable in promoting peace."

"July 8.—Communicated to his Grace the Duke of ———, all that I had heard of the possibility of making peace with America, as well as the objections that had been made to it; and I urged the necessity of the Opposition privately making a declaration to the Ministry of their consent to allow the independence of America, because their opposition to that measure in 1778 served as an excuse for continuing the war.

"The Duke then explained at considerable length the nature of the Bill which he had proposed, and that he did not mean then to declare the independence of America, but only to have power to grant it in case peace could not otherwise be agreed upon, and in case that point should be generally insisted on by the legislatures of the several States;—that Lord Rockingham, he is sure, thinks as he does in the matter; also, Mr. Burke, and, he believes, Col. Barrè.

"Feb. 25, 1782.—Mr. Laurens called this morning. In the afternoon, went to the Bishop of Peterborough, and afterwards to Mr. Laurens. Proposed a meeting with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, and the Bishop of Peterborough, *in order to hear his proposals for peace**.

* Mr. Laurens was soon afterwards appointed one of the four American Commissioners to treat of peace, by a letter from Dr. Franklin, dated April 12th, 1782; but his acting under this appointment was to depend on his being at liberty in this country.

The four Commissioners were, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson was nominated a fifth, in case of the illness of any one of the others.

"26th.—With the Bishop of Peterborough at a quarter past eleven. His Lordship informed me, that the Duke of Grafton was willing to meet, as proposed, and would appoint the time with Lord Camden for the meeting. I then called at Mr. Laurens's, and acquainted him that I would come the next morning to carry him to the proposed meeting.

"27th.—Called on the Bishop of Peterborough, who was gone to the Duke of Grafton, but left word for me to wait his return, and returned soon with a message from the Duke, which he had the precaution to put in writing from the Duke's mouth. It was as follows:

"Piccadilly, Feb. 27, 1782.

"The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden are very sensible of Mr. Laurens's favourable opinion of them, and are satisfied that he is acquainted, from their public conduct, with their friendly dispositions towards America; but as they are private men, without party, connection, or power, they do not see how it is possible for them to be any way instrumental in proposing or promoting the desirable end of peace between the two countries, and therefore beg leave to submit to him, whether, after this declaration, he would wish to meet either of them upon the subject."

"After the receipt of this paper, I called to acquaint Mr. Laurens of the answer."

During these transactions, an anonymous letter came into Mr. Sharp's hands, which gave a fresh excitement to his zeal for mutual reconciliation.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "September 22, 1781.

"Though my name will not be at the end of this letter, I must entreat your particular attention to the following extract of a letter I have just received from a person of great worth in Holland, and who loves England most cordially, notwithstanding he is much in the confidence of *a principal person on the American side of the question*, now in Europe.

"'*Look out, and find a sensible, honest man in office, and conjure him to save his country from eternal ruin, by making up matters immediately with*

America: the first cost will be the least; the longer the matter is delayed, the more will America be estranged from England.

" 'The interest and power of France increase daily, owing to the inconsiderate persistance of the English Councils, which drives the Americans to the necessity of defending and securing themselves by every possible means. Nothing can be more fatal to England, than that France should have the absolute settlement of the terms of peace; and yet this will be the case, if a great and liberal conduct is not immediately pursued. I cannot explain myself, but I entreat you to consider this as no slight hint: *the Englishman who does, is an enemy to his country.*'

" Thus far for my friend, for whose veracity and sincerity I will stake every thing which is near and dear to me, and to which I add, 'Carpe diem, quam minimum credule postero.' Therefore, I wish you would make some worthy man in office acquainted with this information as soon as possible, that a stop may speedily be put to the shedding of human blood, which is the sincere wish of, " My dear Sir, your faithful humble Servant,

" A MAN."

(N. B. Received 23d September.)

This communication was regarded by Mr. Sharp as confirming the intelligence he had before received*. He was at no loss to find the *sensible, honest man,* required by the letter, and he hastened to submit it to Lord Dartmouth.

G. S. to the Right Hon. Earl of Dartmouth.—[EXTRACT.]

" My Lord, " **Wicken Park, near Stoney Stratford, Bucks, 23d Sept. 1781.**

" The information which I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship on the 23d June last, was of more real importance, I believe, than your Lordship seemed at that time to apprehend; and I should not again trouble you on the same business, did I not flatter myself that subsequent events must have proved to your Lordship the necessity of the measures which I recommended, as well on that as on some former occasions.

*** It will, no doubt, have reminded the reader of some anonymous publications written by Dr. Franklin while he resided in this country; and it was, perhaps, from this cause that Mr. S. attached so considerable importance to it. Much of this species of *unauthorised agency* appeared in England during the American war.**

" I have this moment received a letter (of which the enclosed is a copy), urging in very strong terms the necessity of an immediate peace with America. And though the letter is without a name, and even the hand-writing unknown to me, yet, by some particular circumstances, I have no room to doubt from whom it comes, and consequently am well satisfied that the information is truly important. The intelligence is from a different channel from that which I before communicated, and is equally authentic.

" When I had last the honour to wait on your Lordship, the Americans were at liberty to treat separately for peace, as I then informed you from unquestionable authority. Since that time, there have been reports of a more strict treaty of union being formed between the Allies, such as must exclude all hope of any separate treaty with America; but the letter from Holland, an extract of which the anonymous writer has sent to me, plainly indicates that there is still a possibility of treating with America, if the business is undertaken immediately: so that no treaty of absolute union between France and America can yet be ratified, though it is probable such an one may be actually on the tapis, and near a conclusion, which it is the manifest interest of this kingdom to prevent, if possible, by a previous agreement with America; and I sincerely wish that no delusive hope of subjugating America, and compelling her to submit once more to the Crown, may any longer prevent an effectual reconciliation.

" The true interests of this kingdom in 1778 required us to admit the independency of America, which at that time would have prevented an open rupture with France and Spain, and would have been the means of recovering the American trade, whereby we should have received almost as much solid benefit from the colonies as if they had still continued subject to the British Crown. Ever since that time, the accumulated expenses of a bloody and fruitless war have been immense. The first loss (that of American dominions) is not to be compared to the subsequent losses, which a prudent accommodation might have prevented; and a continuance in the same obstinate and fatal career is not likely to retrieve our misfortunes. Let me therefore entreat your Lordship to represent and urge, whenever your interference may be most effectual, the necessity of making a speedy agreement with America. You was apprehensive that any Minister who should venture, in a treaty for peace, to admit the independence of America, would be impeached: nevertheless, I have already mentioned to your Lordship a Nobleman who I am sure would undertake it; but if the King or his Ministers should be unwilling to accept of his service,

though few men are so able, yet I flatter myself that others, of sufficient dignity and abilities, would not shrink from so good and necessary an undertaking, through any false fear of risk, provided Administration will give them sufficient powers to act.

"With the greatest respect and esteem," &c. &c.

He received the following attentive answer.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Weymouth, 3d Oct. 1781.

"It is matter of real concern to me, that the present state of my health, to which alone I am obliged to attend, and the distance I am at from London, put it out of my power to make any use of the intelligence your letter has communicated to me. The subject is great and arduous, and a right determination upon it of infinite consequence to the welfare of this country; and, therefore, I cannot be sorry that the decision of it does not rest with me. I am sorry that your information is anonymous; but as you think you know the author, I believe I cannot advise you better than to lay it yourself before Lord George Germaine, (whom, I believe, you see sometimes, and) who, I am persuaded, will listen to you upon it.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

"DARTMOUTH."

In obedience to Lord Dartmouth's instructions, Mr. Sharp made successive attempts (as appears from his MS. notes) to procure an interview with Lord George Germaine, until, finding them fruitless, he desisted.

He could not have failed to perceive, that an anonymous communication was not to be considered as an authority on which a Minister could be expected to act; but he was resolute in omitting no effort to forward the reconciliation which he desired to see accomplished between the two countries, and he eagerly seized the opportunity, which this letter afforded him, of soliciting anew the exertions of those on whom he thought the duty incumbent to promote the return of peace. He therefore sent copies of it also, enclosed in letters, to the Bishop of Peterborough and the Archbishop of Canterbury;

employing the same arguments to both which he had urged to Lord Dartmouth, but with a distinct reference to their sacred and respective functions. These letters will be seen in the *Correspondence*.

In the spring of the following year, while endeavouring to procure attention to Mr. Laurens's proposals for peace, we find him also renewing his application to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under a strong conviction that it was the duty of a Christian Ministry to interpose its influence to prevent the continuance of an unnatural combat.

MS. "Feb. 26, 1782.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cornwallis), to urge the propriety of the Bishops' joining together to move for peace, and to put a stop to the destructive and ruinous war; and assured him, it would certainly be put an end to very soon, but I wished that the Bishops might have the honour of being the first movers in it. I was heard with attention and politeness, but I could not prevail on his Grace to be active*."

* On the present occasion, Mr. Sharp did not disdain to employ also subordinate measures.

MS. "I visited likewise the Rev. Dr. Lort, his Grace's Chaplain, in his chambers at Lambeth Palace; but he was very violent against all persons who opposed the Court measures.

"The next day, in returning home, I overtook Dr. Lort walking up Snow Hill, and took him up into the coach, and carried him to the Old Jewry, as I found his intention was to call on me; and he apologised very handsomely for his behaviour on the preceding day."

This minute gives a fresh example of Mr. Sharp's complacence towards those who had offended him.

CHAP. V.

IT is nearly impossible to follow with precision so diligent a labourer in the Christian vineyard, through all the various tasks of social duty to which he was prompted by the unceasing vigilance of his mind. His desire of public beneficence was become an intelligent spirit of legal liberty; and his attention was excited by every important occurrence, and every public measure, which touched in any material part our constitution, or our relative condition in society.

When the defence of the city of London became an object of high essential interest, during the menacing aspect of public affairs at this period, he was immediately active in pointing out the proper resort of constitutional measures for that purpose.

MS. "1779, Aug. 19 and 20.—Called on several of the Aldermen and Court of Common Council, to urge them to call an especial Court on the present dangerous state of public affairs, and to propose proper methods by which people of all denominations may have an opportunity of acquiring the use of arms for our common defence."

"1780, Oct. 7.—Went with Mr. Parker and Mr. Whitworth to survey the ground between Islington and Hoxton, in which the citizens of London have an ancient right to exercise themselves in arms."

"10th.—Received from Capt. Turner, of the London Association, the several opinions of counsel respecting military associations, as I had delivered my own opinion in writing on the same subject in June, to prevent the Association from accepting commissions from the King."

"1781, Aug. 21.—This morning called on the following Aldermen; Bull, Plumer, Clark; then on Mr. Vaughan, who immediately went, at my request, to the Lord Mayor. He soon after called on me, and said the Lord Mayor desired to speak with me at six o'clock. I went

accordingly, and had a great deal of discourse on the subject of training the citizens to arms, for their own defence in case of an invasion. As he wanted information concerning the militia laws of London, I promised to search for some remarks which I had drawn up in June 1780, soon after the riots. These I delivered to his Lordship this morning, with some further remarks on the state of the City Militia*."

Other detached minutes in his memoranda, during the same period, speak sufficiently for themselves, and contribute to elucidate his extraordinary character.

MS. "1778, May 1.—Called by appointment on Mr. Powys, knight of the shire for Northampton county: showed him the resolutions of Parliament in 1707, against placemen and pensioners; and gave him an account of several statutes against them."

"1779, Feb. 13.—Sir Joseph Mawbey having given notice to the House, that he intended to make a motion to eject Lord G. G—— from his seat in the House, on account of his holding a place created since the 4th of Anne; I carried this morning to Sir Joseph all my memorandums collected last year respecting new places, with references to the Journals for proceeding against members, pursuant to several Acts respecting that point; and also, the several Acts themselves. I was gladly and thankfully received by Sir Joseph, who immediately proposed to enlarge his ground, and make his motion general. In consequence of this, on Monday following he made, and carried (though very warmly opposed by the Minister), some very useful motions for lists of placemen, agreeably to precedent on the Journals."

* I find among Mr. Sharp's papers some rough proofs (letter-press) of the *declaratory papers* of different associations formed at this period for national defence; from which it may be conjectured, that those declarations were drawn up by him for the use of the associations. They were evidently sent to him for *correction of the press*, and on one of them is written, "A fresh proof to-morrow."

A letter of this period, to his brother, Dr. Sharp, (*see Correspondence*), will show at once the extent of his anxious care, and the diligent researches he had made on the subject.

"Aug. 29, 1781.—Received a letter from Lord Carysfort, respecting the affairs of Ireland."

The subject of this letter was not new to Mr. Sharp, and a correspondence ensued between him and Lord Carysfort, which preceded, by a short interval, the well-known motion made by Mr. Grattan in the Irish House of Commons*, in support of the resolutions passed by the representatives of the great body of volunteers, affirming the right of Ireland to legislate for itself, and "that the claims of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, were unconstitutional and illegal."

Those resolutions were brought forward in opposition to the English Declaratory Act, passed in June 1720, "for the better securing the Dependency of Ireland;" and as they were in perfect consistency with the principles of constitutional law which Granville had stated in his publication in 1775, it was natural that they should excite in him feelings of the strongest interest. A letter (or rather a *warning*) to the Duke of Portland, then appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, appears among his papers, written in a style of unusual boldness, together with two other letters, addressed to Mr. Fox, Secretary of State, and the Duke of Richmond, to the same purpose.

The success of Mr. Grattan's motion confirmed the hopes of the Irish nation, and one of the first subsequent acts of the new Ministry in England was, to expedite the passing of an Act renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British Parliament in relation to Ireland†.

A few miscellaneous notes complete this portion of Mr. Sharp's history.

MS. "December 1, 1781.—Visited the Bishop of Peterborough:

* April 16, 1782. † Repeal of the Statute of 6th of George III.

urged the necessity of an additional rubric to the Book of Common Prayer, to prevent vain repetitions.

"3d.—Visited the Bishop of Carlisle, and proposed the same to him, which I stated would make no alteration of doctrine, or even of the prayers, but such as our Lord's express commands require."

"Aug. 20, 1781.—Called on Mr. Eaton, chaplain to the Bishop of London, to complain of the shameful change of the habits of the two sexes at the theatres. He soon afterwards informed me that the Bishop would speak with me about it. I waited on his Lordship, and obtained his permission to acquaint the Archbishop of Canterbury that he wished to confer with his Grace on that subject, in order to apply to the Lord Chamberlain.

"Sept. 6.—Acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Bishop of London's message. I read to him the remarks that I had drawn up on the text of Deut. xxii. 5. His Grace promised to consult with the Bishop of London, and to inform me of the result.

"Dec. 22.—The Archbishop desired to see me. His Grace promised to speak to the Lord Chamberlain on the first opportunity."

On the subject of morals, to which the three last notes allude, it will be sufficient to call to the reader's recollection the representation, then in vogue, of the "Beggar's Opera," in which the women's parts were performed by male, and the men's by female actors!—Granville, in common with many other sensible men, was scandalized at the public indecency of such a performance.

Nearly at the same time he presented a remonstrance, on an indecorum partly of the same nature, to the Archbishop of York, whose son had acted the part of *Thais* in Terence's comedy of the "Eunuch," at Westminster school. He read his remonstrance also to Dr. Smith, the master of the school, who promised to represent it to the Bishop of Rochester, and said, that "the plays might be prevented *next year*; but the custom of acting them had continued two hundred years, and (he believed) was enjoined by the Statutes."

CHAP. VI.

WE must now take into view another distinguishing part of Mr. Sharp's life.

While zealously exerting his endeavours, in the manner that has been related, for the promotion of peace and the reformation of public morals, a result, not less unexpected than any that has yet been mentioned, attended his intercourse with America. It is stated by himself in a letter to Colonel Dalton, dated Feb. 12, 1812, accompanying the present of his tract, "on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery," to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

After speaking of the various consequences of the efforts in favour of African freedom, in which he had taken so eminent a part, "It is one of the extraordinary effects above mentioned," he says, "that the zealous exertions of the Quakers in America against slavery, jointly with the author of this book in the same just cause, should really have produced the *establishment of Episcopacy* in America, *according to the primitive Catholic Church of Christ*, though neither the Quakers, nor the author of the book, had the least idea of any such consequence arising from their united labours."

Although there are no distinct notices of the commencement of his action in this measure, it appears from his minutes that it must have taken place about the year 1777.

MS. "1779, Aug. 31.—Dined this day with Mr. Wathen, where I met Dr. Price, Rev. Mr. Mayo, Rev. Mr. Townsend, &c. Dr. Price said, he was informed by a gentleman (Mr. Temple) just arrived from America, that some steps had been taken in Congress towards the introducing Episcopacy into America, which was matter of great surprise to him, being a Presbyterian. Upon which I

acquainted him with the steps I had taken, *for more than two years past*, to persuade the Americans here in London of the necessity of adopting and introducing Episcopacy into America, on the plan recommended in my 'Law of Retribution;' and that all those whom I had spoken with seemed to be convinced of the necessity of the measure: that I trusted what Mr. Temple had heard was part of the consequences of my endeavours for the honour of the True Church."

He expresses himself still more strongly, in a letter about this time, to his brother, Dr. John Sharp:

"The Americans are consulting how to introduce Episcopacy into their continent. Mr. Temple, an American, who lately arrived, brought the account. If this should really prove true, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking myself the first mover and promoter of the measure, as it is what I have much laboured to inculcate, and to persuade every American, that I have talked with here, to adopt. Several, who have gone over within these two years, have readily agreed with me on this point, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to promote it."

His first writings on the subject are still earlier in date.

NS. "The tract, entitled 'the Law of Retribution,' was printed in 1776. In a long note, at the end of this book, an account is given of 'the apostolical and primitive Catholic Church of Christ, which always maintained the natural and just right of the clergy and people of every diocese to elect their own bishops, for above five hundred years after the establishment of it, until the Church of Rome began its baneful exertions to invade and suppress that just and important right.'

"This note, together with some other remarks on the importance of Episcopacy, as being, according to a maxim of the English common law, the strength of the republic (*ordo Episcoporum est robur reipublicæ*), had the extraordinary effect of convincing a very large

body of Dissenters and Presbyterians, as well as Churchmen, in America, of the propriety of establishing Episcopacy among themselves in the United States; so that, even during the war, a motion had been made in Congress for that purpose, and was postponed merely because a time of peace was thought more proper for the consideration of so important a regulation."

The remarks to which he alludes were brought forward in a later work, entitled "A Tract on Congregational Courts" and on other constitutional topics*, to which was added a "Tract on the Election of Bishops†."

The effect produced by his zeal in the American councils, was anxiously accompanied by his earnest efforts that so favourable a disposition of circumstances should be met by equal approaches in our hierarchy; and no sooner was peace restored, than he resumed the prosecution of his endeavours in both countries.

Although no political predominance had been allotted to any single mode of Christian worship in America, the Episcopal churches, particularly in the southern states, were numerous; and, on the separation of the American Colonies from England, a very great difficulty arose concerning the ministry of those churches throughout the provinces. There was no bishop residing in America. The Episcopalian clergy of that country had always been ordained in England. But as the British Act of Uniformity forbad the ordination of any

* See Catalogue of Mr. Sharp's works.

"The chief design of my last publication, on Congregational Courts," he says (to his brother, in 1784), "is to remove the prejudices of the Americans against Episcopacy, by proving the right of popular elections. Perhaps there never was any former period wherein that particular point was so necessary to be discussed. The tract is not yet published, but many copies are already sent to America."—The additional tract, "on the Election of Bishops," he states, in a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, was written with similar views.

† See the Bishop's judicious reply, in the "*Correspondence.*" In a letter also to Dr. Peckhard, in 1795, he says, "My tract on 'Congregational Courts' was chiefly instrumental to the introduction of Episcopacy into America, as even Dr. Franklin, the philosopher, became an advocate for it."

student, unless he at the same time took the oath of allegiance to the King, and as it was impossible for the Americans to take such an oath after the establishment of their independence, an insuperable obstacle appeared to be raised to the further extension of the church ministry in America. To remove this obstacle, and thereby to preserve the Episcopal establishment of the English church in the Colonies, was now the object of Mr. Sharp's zeal.

The danger from the sectarian members of the church was imminent; for so great was become the prevailing ardour for Episcopacy in America, that the utmost vigilance could alone secure that most sacred ordination within its pure and uniform channels of descent. Happily, never was mortal more fitted to exert that vigilance than the subject of these Memoirs.

"Is it not a little remarkable," he says to his brother, "that Presbyterians, Socinians, Methodists, Anabaptists, and almost all the sectaries from one end of the United States to the other, should agree in calling themselves *Episcopal Churches*, if it be considered that a very few years ago the very name of a bishop was an abomination to them, and that even the members of the English Episcopal churches could not bear the idea of introducing Episcopacy into America? As it has pleased God to bless my endeavours for the removal of their prejudices against Episcopacy, I shall think myself more particularly bound to exert still further endeavours, to promote sound doctrine in the new Episcopal Churches."

Whether the *general* desire of Episcopal Establishments arose from any attendant idea of *power*, or whether all parties acted from the same disinterested motives and religious zeal that influenced Mr. Sharp, is a subject of inquiry for the speculatist of future days.

MS. "Aug. 4, 1784.—Went again to Lambeth. Saw the Archbishop of Canterbury, and told him my anxiety on account of the great pains I had taken to promote Episcopacy in America. I showed

him the letter I lately received from Dr. Rush, at Philadelphia*, relating the present most favourable inclination towards Episcopacy.

"The Archbishop expressed a sincere inclination on the same side, as well as to remove the obstacles which had prevented himself and other Bishops from giving ordination to American students. He lamented them, because he thinks the church will soon be lost there, if there be not a supply of episcopally-ordained clergy; and he informed me, that an Act of Parliament, to dispense with the requisitions of the oaths to the King, was now proposed to be obtained†."

The Act obtained on this occasion did not correspond to the ardour of Mr. Sharp's progress. It authorised no higher ordination than that of *Deacon* or *Priest*. He judged it, therefore, requisite to address the Archbishop of Canterbury again on the same subject, accompanying his letter with his last work on Congregational Courts, of which, as well as of his motives, he gives a faithful account, to the intent that the Archbishop might be fully apprised of the grounds on which he was endeavouring to promote the establishment in question.

To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. [EXTRACT.]

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, Nov. 19, 1784.

"I think it my duty not to delay the communication of a work just printed to your Grace, because the *fifth* tract therein relates entirely to *ecclesiastical matters*. I ought to premise to your Grace, that my chief reason for introducing the subject of Episcopacy in such a work, was the hope of removing the prejudices of the Protestants in America against that necessary order of the Christian Ministry; and I knew not a more effectual means of doing this, than by proving the *freedom of Episcopal elections in the primitive church*, and

* The eminent physician before mentioned.

† There appears to be an error in the date of this minute, as an Act of this nature bears the date of May, of this year (1784), and is called, "An Act to empower the Bishop of London for the time being, and any other Bishop to be by him appointed, to admit to the Order of Deacon or Priest, Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions, without requiring them to take the Oath of Allegiance as appointed by Law."

the acknowledgment of the right of election in the clergy and people for many ages afterwards.

"In doing this, however, I have been careful to distinguish between the *necessity* and the *expediency* of free election; showing that free popular election is not *necessary* to constitute the Episcopal order, but is only a matter of expediency when it may be easily and fairly obtained; and that the *rite of consecration*, and not the right of popular election, really constitutes a *Christian bishop*. By this means, I hope I have avoided giving any just cause of offence to the most respectable establishment of Bishops at this time in the world—I mean, *the Bishops of the Church of England;*—and I flatter myself that I have cut off all excuse for the vain pretensions of mere Presbyters to exercise the Episcopal function and rite of laying on hands, &c., by pointing out the mistakes of the late Lord Chancellor King on that head.

"I am sorry to see the powers of the late Act, intended for promoting the Episcopal Church in America, so unhappily limited; and the authority of ordaining priests and deacons for independent states confined to the Bishop of London alone, though all the other Bishops, as Bishops of Christ's catholic church, are equally entitled to exercise that authority: and I am still much more sorry to find, that neither the Bishop of London, nor any of the other Bishops, have yet obtained authority to consecrate a Bishop for foreign parts, either separately or jointly.

"I should not have presumed to have troubled your Grace with so long a letter on this subject, had I not lately been informed that an American clergyman, who calls himself a *loyalist*, is actually gone down to Scotland, with a view of obtaining consecration from some of the remaining *nonjuring* Bishops in that kingdom, who still affect amongst themselves a nominal jurisdiction from the Pretender's appointment; and he proposes, afterwards, to go over to America, in hopes of obtaining jurisdiction over several *Episcopal congregations* in Connecticut. So that it is really a measure of great importance that your Grace and the other Bishops should obtain authority to consecrate Bishops for the true Christian church in every part of the world.

"If it is not thought prudent to entrust this authority to any single Bishop, yet surely there can be no objection to the obtaining an Act to enable *any three Bishops* jointly to consecrate unexceptionable persons, who shall bring due testimonials of their appointment or election by the majority of the Episcopal Christians in any foreign province, city, or district; especially if the previous consent of the Archbishop of the province be required.

"Your Grace will find some examples of a similar mode of proceeding, in a note at p. 337 of my work—viz. of Bishops elected by the clergy and people of Ireland, and sent over here to be consecrated by your Grace's predecessors, the Archbishops of Canterbury (or by two or three Bishops of the province of Canterbury, at the Archbishop's request), to be Bishops in several dioceses of Ireland, at a time when that kingdom was entirely unconnected and independent of the British Crown; so that I apprehend these are cases in point.

"I remain, with the greatest respect and esteem,

"My Lord," &c. &c.

The loyalist clergyman alluded to in the letter to the Archbishop, was Dr. Seabury, an American, whose friends in Connecticut having elected him to be their Bishop, he came over to England for the purpose of consecration.

MS. "Dr. Seabury, on coming to England, called on the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration, to the great surprise of the Archbishop, who was apprehensive that it might give great offence to the Americans, with whom we had just then made peace; and therefore his Grace (the very worthy and learned Dr. Moore) wished to be allowed some time to consider of the request; upon which, Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room, saying, 'if your Grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it,' and immediately set off for Aberdeen*.

* The following extract from the Life of the late William Stevens, Esq., although it supports an opposite view of the question to that which Mr. Sharp will be found to have taken, may be of use to throw light on this transaction.

"It is well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history, that, from the time of the Reformation to the year 1610, the state of church government in Scotland was in a very fluctuating condition. In that year (1610), James the First, of England, established Episcopacy in Scotland; which fell again a sacrifice to the troubles in the reign of Charles I., and a prey to the Puritanism of Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II., Episcopacy also was restored in Scotland, and continued to be the established government of the Scottish church till the Revolution in 1688. When that happened, *I believe the fact to be*, that King William applied to the Scotch Bishops to exert their influence in his behalf, on which condition he offered to protect their church; but his proposal was rejected, and the Convention of Estates, which settled the crown on William and Mary, abolished Episcopacy, and substituted *Presbytery*, as the established form of church government in Scotland; and thus things have remained to the present day.

"But

" The Archbishop communicated to G. S. this account of Dr. Seabury's behaviour; and G. S., in return, informed his Grace, that a general convention was actually appointed in America for the election of Bishops. On hearing this, the Archbishop gave G. S. authority to assure the Americans, that, if they elected unexceptionable persons, and transmitted proper certificates of their morals and conduct, and of their suitable abilities for so important a charge, he would do every thing in his power to promote their good intentions."

In this state of negotiation the subject of American Episcopacy remained for some time in England.

In America, meanwhile, the almost total want of proper information on the subject, and the consequent embarrassment of the

" But the consequence of this act of the Convention of Estates, and of a similar one of the Scottish Parliament after it, was, that fourteen Scotch bishops (including the two Archbishops of Saint Andrew's and Glasgow), and about nine hundred clergy, having refused to submit to the new government, were obliged to relinquish their charge, and were succeeded by Presbyterian Ministers. From their refusing to take the oaths, they acquired the name of *Non-iurors*.

" But the Bishops, though deprived of their dignities, revenues, seats in Parliament, and all *temporal* power, preserved their *spiritual* power in the church, which is inherent in the *nature* of their *office*; and, as often as vacancies happened, supplied them by new and regular consecrations. But, as the necessities of their now small body as a church did not require the continuance of so large a number of the Episcopal order, they have allowed the *Episcopal college* to sink to about six; and there are, besides, about sixty clergymen of their communion.

" On the death of the Pretender, in 1788, the heads of the Scotch church called on the clergy and laity over whom they were placed, to acknowledge their attachment to the existing government, and to direct that prayers should be used in their assemblies for George the Third, by name. This measure met his Majesty's approbation; and assurances of his favour having been given them, three of the Scotch Bishops, Skinner, Drummond, and Strachan, came to London in April 1789; and a Bill was brought into Parliament, for the relief of the Scotch Episcopalians from the penal statutes which had been enacted against them. The Bill passed in the Commons; but was *deferred to another sessions* and thrown out in the House of Lords, in consequence of the opposition of the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow. Bishop Horsley spoke for it.

" It was very little publicly known that there was an Episcopal Church remaining in Scotland, till the affair of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, a man of unblemished reputation and eminent parts, disclosed that there was such a remnant of *pure Episcopacy* in the northern part of Britain (*a*)."

(*a*) See Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, by the Rev. John Skinner.

Episcopalian clergy, are very strongly pointed out in a letter of Dr. Franklin (published in his Private Correspondence). Two young men had come over to England to be ordained, but were refused ordination on account of the oath required by the Act of Uniformity; and they then applied to Dr. Franklin at Paris, to know in what manner they were to proceed. Franklin was totally at a loss. He inquired of the French bishops, who replied, "that they could not ordain, unless the candidates swore allegiance to the *Archbishop of Paris.*" He next consulted the Pope's nuncio, who could not consent to their ordination, unless they would also profess the *Roman Catholic* faith*.

In this embarrassment, he advised the young men to inquire if they could be ordained by the Bishops in *Ireland;* and finally put the case to them, "in what mode they would think it right to proceed if England were *swallowed up in the sea.*" This was in July 1784.

That able politician had not yet directed his attention to ecclesiastical concerns; but he unexpectedly found the information and the aid that were wanting for his country, in the hereditary church-learning of Mr. Sharp. The progress of Granville's useful instructions to the Americans, will be seen in a correspondence maintained by him with several eminent persons here and in America. His principal correspondents were, the Rev. James Manning, President of the college of Providence, in Rhode Island; Dr. Franklin; and Dr. Rush. To the first of these he wrote in considerable detail on the impending question, and particularly on the subject of the Scottish church†. To Dr. Franklin he recommends religion in general, on grounds of political wisdom; and then proposes the establishment of Episcopacy, as the best guardian of morals in a Christian society, together with some particular regulations in the service of the church. Some of these letters require insertion at this place.

* Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., &c.

† See *Correspondence.*

To his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. [EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " 17th June, 1785.

" The book which I have sent you contains a distinct tract on *Episcopacy*, as being necessarily connected with the rights of a Christian society; and however you and I may differ upon some points of religious knowledge, yet I trust we shall both agree, that true religion is more compendiously efficacious for the forming of useful citizens and sincere patriots, in every state, than any other principle that can be inculcated; and of all the various modes of professing it, there is none (I am thoroughly convinced by the example of primitive times) that would be so effectual for the maintenance of sound doctrine and purity of manners in a Christian society, as the *primitive Apostolic form of Episcopal government*, provided that the ancient *freedom of election to ecclesiastical offices* were amply restored and duly maintained.

" I have been informed, that, several years ago, you revised the Liturgy of the Church of England, with a view, by some few alterations, to promote the more general use of it. But I have never yet been able to see a copy of the form you proposed. Our present public service is certainly, upon the whole, much too long, as it is commonly used; so that a prudent revision of it, by the common consent of the members of the Episcopal Church in America, might be very advantageous; though, for my own part, I conceive that the addition of one single rubric from the Gospel, would be amply sufficient to direct the revisers to the only corrections that seem to be necessary at present—I mean, a general rule, illustrated by proper examples, references, and marks, to warn the officiating ministers how they may avoid all useless repetitions and tautology in reading the service. As, for instance, after the Lord's Prayer has been read in one of the offices, the minister should be directed to omit it in all the others; though, perhaps, the solemn repetition of it by the communicants, after returning from the Lord's table, may be deemed a proper exception to the general rule;—that the Collect of the day should not be read in the first office, but rather in the second service, or *vice versâ*, at the minister's discretion, but by no means in both, as it occasions too plainly a *vain repetition*. In like manner, every other prayer, that contains nearly the same petition in substance as any of those that have already been read in the first office, ought to be omitted in the subsequent offices. And it will require a very careful and attentive revision of the whole Liturgy, to discover all the *repetitions*, and to point them out with marginal notes of reference, that the officiating

clergyman may be more easily enabled to avoid tautology. Such a prudent abridgment of the service, if it were done by common consent, to preserve order and uniformity, would afford great relief to the clergy, as well as to their congregations; and both would be better enabled to fix their attention to their duty during the service; because the human mind is not easily restrained for any long time together from wandering, or absence of thought: so that nothing can be more pernicious to devotion than *long prayers* and *needless repetitions*. This opinion is sufficiently justified by an injunction of our Lord himself respecting prayer; which, therefore, I purpose as the *one additional rubric* necessary to direct us in the use of our Liturgy—viz. '*when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathens do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking:* be not ye, therefore, like unto them.'

"The repetitions, and consequent unnecessary length, of our Church Service, are faults, however, which '*have crept in unawares*,' and without design, by an inconsiderate use of several offices in immediate succession which seem to have been originally intended for separate times of assembling. But in every other respect, the Liturgy of the Church of England is an excellent form, both for expression of the most exalted piety, and for general edification in point of doctrine; for, after the most careful examination, I am thoroughly convinced that it is strictly conformable to '*the faith once delivered to the saints*,' which we ought to '*hold fast*.'

"I remain, with great esteem and respect, dear Sir," &c. &c.

"G. S."

Dr. Franklin to Mr. Granville Sharp. [EXTRACT.]

"Dear Sir, "Passy, July 5, 1785.

...."I like your piece on the election of Bishops. There is a fact in Holinshed's Chronicle, the latter part, relating to Scotland, which shows, if my memory does not deceive me, that the first Bishop in that country was elected by the clergy. I mentioned it in a letter to two young men lately, who asked my advice about obtaining ordination, which had been denied them by the Bishops in England, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the King. &c.; and I imagine, that, unless a Bishop is soon sent over, with a power to consecrate others, so that we may have no future occasion of applying to England for ordination, we may think it right, after reading your piece, to elect also.

"The Liturgy you mention, was an abridgment of the Prayers, made by a

Noble Lord of my acquaintance, who requested me to assist him by taking the rest of the book—viz. the Catechism, and the reading and singing Psalms. Those I abridged, by retaining of the Catechism only the two questions, *What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbour?* with their answers. The Psalms were much contracted, by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined), and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries, and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in Paul's Churchyard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper. In the prayers, so much was retrenched, that approbation could hardly be expected; but I think with you, a moderate abridgment might not only be useful, but generally acceptable.

"I am, dear Sir," &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN*."

Soon after the above letter from Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sharp received one also from the Rev. Mr. Manning, of Providence, in Rhode Island, the original of which document is missing, but the subject of it is known from Mr. Sharp's reply;—viz. a proposal that his instructions respecting the consecration of Bishops should be laid before the approaching general convention of the Episcopal churches at Philadelphia†.

℔. "Sept. 10, 1785.—Waited on the Archbishop, at Lambeth, and communicated to him Mr. Manning's letter respecting the convention of the Episcopal clergy this month at Philadelphia; also, Dr. Franklin's letter on the subject of Episcopacy and the Liturgy. He assures me that Administration would be inclined to give leave

* The whole of this letter is printed in Dr. Franklin's *Private Correspondence*. The original is among the papers left by Mr. Sharp. The remainder will be found in its proper place.

† *To the Rev. Mr. Manning, President of the College at Rhode Island.* [EXTRACT.]

"Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for so candidly communicating my former letter, respecting the Nonjuring Bishops of Scotland, to so many respectable persons, and especially to Dr. Prevost, *as his intention was to lay a copy of it before the General Convention of the Episcopal churches at Philadelphia*," &c. &c.

(Dated, 27th July, 1785.)

to the Bishops to consecrate proper persons. He desired copies of the letters."

The letters were sent accordingly, accompanied by the following.

G. S. to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. [EXTRACT.]

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, 13th September, 1785.

" Enclosed I have the honour to send your Grace the copies of the letters which I promised. . . . I think it right to add also an extract from a letter which I received last year from an eminent physician at Philadelphia, (Dr. Rush, who was physician-general to the continental army, and some time a member of Congress); for this affords a proof of such candour and moderation towards the Episcopal church, from a Presbyterian, as is seldom known, though I have reason to think it is not uncommon at present in America. The letter was partly in answer to my remonstrance on the subject of Episcopacy.

" Extract of a letter from Dr. Rush, dated 27th April, 1784:—' I am ' happy in being able to inform you that attempts are now making to revive ' the Episcopal church in the United States. Though a member of the ' Presbyterian church, yet I esteem very highly the Articles and the worship ' of the church of England. There are but two ways of preserving visible ' religion, in any country: the first is, by establishments; the second is, by ' the competition of different religious societies. The revival of the Episcopal ' church in our country will produce zeal, and a regard to the ordinances of ' religion, in every other society.—Such is the liberality produced among the ' Dissenters by the war, that I do not think they will now object to a Bishop ' being fixed in each of our states, provided he has no civil revenue or ' jurisdiction.'

" I had similar assurances from Dr. Witherspoon (a member of Congress and Presbyterian clergyman) when in England last summer; and this inclination to promote Episcopacy is amply confirmed by Mr. Manning's late account of the intended convention of the Episcopal clergy of the provinces of Virginia and New York, at Philadelphia; as well as by Dr. Franklin's declaration of his opinion, that ' unless a Bishop is soon sent over with a power to conse- ' crate others, so that we may have no more occasion of applying to England ' for ordination, *we may think it right to elect also.*' All these circumstances prove, that the present time is very important and critical for the promotion

of the interests and future extension of the Episcopal church in America, and that no time should be lost in obtaining authority for the Archbishops and Bishops of England to dispense with the oaths of allegiance in the *consecration of Bishops for foreign churches,* that they may be restored to their unquestionable right, as Christian Bishops, to extend the *Episcopal church of Christ* all over the world.

" An immediate interference is also become the more necessary, not only on account of the pretensions of Dr. Seabury and the Nonjuring Bishops of Scotland, but also to guard against the presumptions of Mr. W——y and other Methodists, who, it seems, have sent over some persons, under the name of *superintendants,* with an assumed authority to ordain Priests, as if they were really invested with Episcopal authority.

" Some accounts of this were read to the Society for propagating the Gospel, in May last, from the letters of their Missionaries; and I have since heard that some Methodistical clergymen have procured consecration from the *Moravian churches,* which the latter had received from the Bishops of Poland. ..... These attempts of the sectaries prove that they perceive among the Americans an increasing inclination towards Episcopal government; and, consequently, they prove also, that the exertions of every sincere friend to the Church of England are peculiarly necessary at this time, to facilitate the communication of a pure and irreprehensible Episcopacy to America, by removing the obstacles which at present restrain the Archbishops and Bishops of England from extending the Church of England beyond the bounds of the English Government.

" I should also inform your Grace, that America is not the only part wherein Protestant Episcopacy is likely to be extended, when the rights of election are better understood; for, had I been prepared in the year 1767 on this point, as I am at present, I have reason to believe that a Protestant Episcopal church would have been promoted in Holland, and in several parts of Germany and Switzerland, long before this time.

" How I happened to be concerned in so important an affair, if your Grace should have leisure and curiosity to be informed, I am ready to communicate on receiving your commands.

" I remain, with great respect and esteem, my Lord," &c. &c.

NS. " Sept. 16, 1785.—Attended the Archbishop of Canterbury. Read letters from some Missionaries in America, showing the

alterations in part of the Liturgy, namely, the prayers for '*the King*,' altered to '*the States*.'"

Several other letters, of an explanatory nature, passed on the occasion, some of which will be found in the *Correspondence*. The following extract is of importance to the present history of the transactions.

G. S. to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, &c. [EXTRACT.]

"You have intimated a probability that the people of America, in a certain case, 'may think it right to elect' bishops; but the Episcopal clergy of America will, of course, be aware, that the mere *election* of a Presbyter to the office of a Bishop, will *not* be sufficient to constitute the Episcopal dignity, nor to confer the kind of authority that is requisite for those who preside, according to the Apostolic constitution, in the churches of Christ, without the outward form of *laying on of hands by other Bishops*, after solemn prayer for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to assist and guide the elected person in the execution of such a solemn charge and trust in the church of Christ as must render him most awfully responsible for his whole conduct before God and man. I was anxious, that this truly Christian and Scriptural rite of laying on of hands, should be communicated to the Episcopal church of America by a channel of continuation from the Apostolic times, that should be as unexceptionable as possible; and therefore I wished that the first American Bishops might be consecrated by our English Bishops, whose predecessors were particularly instrumental in promoting the Reformation from Popery (several of them having sealed their testimony with their blood), and whose doctrine in general has ever since been limited by the test of Holy Scripture. . . . . These are my reasons for wishing that the first American Bishops may receive their consecration rather from our English Bishops, than from the Nonjurors of Scotland. I have good authority to say, that several of the English Bishops (and I have not the least reason to suspect that any of the rest entertain different sentiments on this point) are very desirous to promote the Episcopal church of Christ in America, or elsewhere, upon true Christian principles, without any idea of acquiring the least ascendency thereby, which might be derogatory to the independence of free national churches; and, though they are at present so unhappily bound by the *Act of Uniformity* that they cannot dispense with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, yet I am assured, on the best authority,

that they will endeavour to obtain a due sanction or power to do so, even if an express Act of Parliament should be thought necessary to effect it, whenever a proper requisition shall be made to consecrate a Bishop, or Bishops, for America, provided the elected persons, sent from thence, bring with them the necessary testimonials of their ecclesiastical qualifications, morality, election, &c. (for the scriptural rubric is, '*to lay hands suddenly on no man*'); and I have ample reason to think that all due attention will be paid to so just a demand *."

In consequence of the repeated assurances, which Mr. Sharp had been thus authorised to give to the convention of the Episcopal clergy at Philadelphia, of the readiness on the part of the English Church to consecrate proper persons, two Bishops were elected, Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Prevost for New York; and the requisition, proposed in his last letter to Dr. Franklin, was not long afterwards made to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

In a letter to his brother, Dr. Sharp of Durham, Granville expresses the gratification which his success had afforded him:

"Jan. 10, 1786.

"The Church of England is likely to take the lead, and to be gloriously established in America."

N.S. "Jan. 13, 1786.—Informed by Mr. Adams, American ambassador, that the convention of the Episcopal church of America (which included Carolina, the Jerseys, and Maryland, as well as Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York), have written a letter to the two Archbishops, requesting them to consecrate a person whom they would send; that the letter was enclosed to him, and delivered with his own hand."

The next morning he waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the result of his visit is thus stated:

* The other parts of this letter also contain an interesting historical account of the Non-juring Bishops in Scotland, which will be found in the *Correspondence*.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

"January 31, 1786.

"I do not remember whether I mentioned to you the late requisition to the two Archbishops from the Episcopal churches of *six or seven of the principal provinces in America*, which met by deputation at Philadelphia, in a general convention, last September, requesting that they will consecrate three clergymen, whom they will send over, in order that they may be Bishops in America. The Archbishop of Canterbury told me, that the requisition is a very proper one, and expressed in very respectful terms; and assured me, that he is a sincere friend to what is proposed, and will promote it to the utmost of his power, provided they send persons *duly qualified*.

"I read to him the promise I had written to Dr. Franklin, and he highly approved of it, and said I had not at all exceeded what had passed between us, and that 'he would abide by what I had promised.'"

CHAP. VII.

AFFAIRS hitherto seemed to be in the most prosperous state of progress; but some circumstances now occurred, to put in question the intended consecration of the American Bishops. The Archbishops of York and Canterbury had conceived some doubts respecting the orthodoxy of the Presbyterian students; and other obstacles had also occurred, allusions to which are found in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Findlay, in 1786.—

[EXTRACT.]

"With respect to the Episcopacy of the Nonjurors in Scotland, I have already received from America an answer to mine on that head—viz. that a copy of it should be laid before the general Convention of Episcopal clergy and people (sent from several provinces) that was to be held at Philadelphia in September last. In that letter, I had stated several objections to the Nonjuring Bishops; and the consequence has been, it seems, that the Convention have resolved to make a formal requisition to the English Bishops for consecration. This has alarmed the Cabinet here. If they grant the just and reasonable request, (which they cannot refuse without rebellion against the kingdom of Christ), the first American Bishop recovers a large sum of money, left by the late Archbishop Secker, as also by Mr. Boyle and some others, for the first establishment of an American Episcopate. And the same *worldly* spirit in the Cabinet makes them afraid, it seems, to send a Bishop to the remaining dependent colonies in Nova Scotia (which they had once determined), lest the clergy there, when they no longer have occasion to come over to England for orders, should lose the leaven of time-serving, and promote independency and revolt. Dr. Franklin has approved my tract on Episcopacy, and is now an advocate for electing bishops in America. In my letters, I had assured him, *from very high authority*, that our Government would certainly favour any requisition they should make for the consecration of their elected Bishops; but the worthy Prelate, who induced me to make such a promise, was not

aware, it seems, of the power of the enemy, and the general temper of the times. The true Episcopal church will probably find an asylum in America. The late very extraordinary American declarations in its favour, far exceed all human probability and expectation. There was not a single American, only twelve months ago, who would have conceived it possible that the adoption of Episcopacy would so rapidly and generally prevail, in so short a space of time, throughout that continent." &c. &c.

Mr. Sharp, therefore, exerted himself to procure the most correct information that he could obtain on the subject, as well as to diminish the force of the obstacles which had arisen.

G. S. to his Excellency John Adams, Esq., Ambassador from the United States of America.

"Sir, "21st January, 1786.

"I have had an opportunity of making some inquiries concerning the reports which I mentioned to your Excellency, about the supposed backwardness of Government to permit the Bishops to consecrate Bishops for America, and I am happy to find that these reports had no foundation in truth. Nevertheless, I am under great concern on account of some other reports that are current—viz. That the convention of the American churches have so far altered the Liturgy, as to give room to suspect that they do not maintain the profession of the primitive churches—for if that should really be the case, the English Bishops cannot, consistently with their duty to God, give consecration to any man who does not unequivocally acknowledge '*the faith once delivered to the saints*,' and the Creeds by which *that faith* has since been maintained.

"The promise which I wrote to Dr. Franklin on this head, through the assurance I had received from a person of high authority, I read over this day to the same worthy person; and I have had the satisfaction to receive his entire approbation of my manner of expressing it; and he again assured me this day, in the most solemn manner, that he will abide by that promise.

"If your Excellency should desire to see any part of the correspondence I have had with America on this point, I will wait upon you any time you shall be pleased to appoint, to shew you the letters, and I will give you copies of any you shall think worthy your notice.

"With great respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient," &c. &c.

His Excellency John Adams, Esq. to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Grosvenor Square, Jan. 23, 1786.

"I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me, together with a set of the Works of Archbishop Sharp, your grandfather, elegantly bound; for which valuable present I pray you to accept of my sincere thanks.

"I have not received from America any account of an alteration made in the Liturgy by the convention of American churches. A project of a new Liturgy made by one church in Boston, I have seen.

"I should be much obliged to you for a sight of your correspondence with America; and should be glad to see you any morning which may be most convenient to you, at any hour before twelve o'clock.

"With great esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir," &c. &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

To assist the attainment of consecration from the English church, he next drew up an Examination of the Act of Uniformity, for the consideration of the Bishops *.

MS. "1786. Feb. 8.—Spoke with the Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Warren), on the subject of American Episcopacy and the legal construction of the Act of Uniformity."

He again also addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury by letter, fully explaining and replying to both the points of difficulty which had occurred—1st, with regard to the legacies to be paid on the establishment of the first American Episcopate; and 2dly, concerning the alterations in the American Liturgy †. In conclusion, he says—

"I beg leave, therefore, humbly to submit to your Grace, that, if any notice is to be taken of the late "*alterations*" in the Liturgy, in your Grace's intended answer to the American requisition, whether, instead of stating that measure as a *just cause of refusal*, it may not be more advisable to mention it

* This paper is among Mr. Sharp's Manuscripts. † See *Correspondence*.

rather as a just cause for your exhorting and giving them timely warning not to send over any candidates for consecration but such as are known to profess *a sound belief in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith*, and more particularly in the Scriptural doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and in the real personality and actual agency of the Holy Spirit, as the Divine Comforter and Instructor to the end of the world? . . . . . It is my duty to apologize for having addressed your Grace on a business which is, indeed, entirely foreign to my situation and calling; but I should not have presumed to interfere in the most important and delicate part of the affair, *even respecting your own answer* to the requisition, had I not been previously instrumental in promoting the present prevailing desire for Episcopacy in America; which consideration, I hope, will incline your Grace to pardon this intrusion, and to excuse any impropriety which may have been unwarily occasioned, through my earnest desire to promote the interests of the Episcopal church.

"I am, with true respect and esteem," &c. &c.

"*P. S.*—Being apprehensive that some difficulties may attend an application at this time to Parliament, for leave to *dispense with the oaths* in the consecration of the American Bishops, I have enclosed an examination of the *legal construction* of the several laws relating to that point, for your Grace's perusal. If the ideas which I have stated should be thought capable of bearing the test of inquiry, perhaps a regular opinion, briefly and more methodically stated by some eminent professor of law, might induce the Privy Council to give their sanction to the measure, without the formality of an Act of Parliament; whereby much time would be saved. And as such a measure, with the consent of Government, would not infringe any civil rights whatsoever, there would be no probability of future complaints to occasion prosecution (or premunire, as some persons have apprehended) against the Bishops, for doing their duty as catholic ministers of Christ; for no individual of the King's subjects could be injured or affected by it."

But another letter from Dr. Rush happily arrived at this moment, to assist in removing the Archbishop's scruples. The letter itself does not appear, but the following account of it is satisfactory in every respect:

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp. [EXTRACT.]

"July 7, 1786.

"I have lately received a letter from Dr. Rush, who gives me better hopes than I had lately entertained, respecting the establishment of Episcopacy in America.

"'The Convention,' he says, 'have preserved the great and essential articles 'of the church, and of Christianity, in their ancient purity. They have lessened 'the number of their articles, but have made no one alteration in their principles.'

"In a former part of his letter, he says, 'I communicated the contents of 'your letter, respecting the friendly disposition of your Bishops to the Episcopal 'Church of America, to the Episcopal ministers of this city (Philadelphia). 'They received the communication with great pleasure, and appear strongly dis-'posed to prefer consecration from the hands of an English, before a Scotch 'Bishop.'"

About the same time, also, arrived the following:

Dr. Franklin to Mr. Granville Sharp. [*Received July* 13.]

"Philadelphia, May 30, 1786.

"Dear Sir,

"I received duly your favour of Oct. 29, and communicated it immediately to the principal of our clergy. By what I understand, they are not pleased with Bishop Seabury's operations, or his conduct in going to Scotland for ordination; and they have addressed the Bishops of England on the subject, and received a favourable answer. The Convention here agreed to make sundry alterations in the service of the church, and have accordingly formed a new Common Prayer-Book, of which I send you a copy. But so many objections are now made to the changes, that it is become doubtful whether the book will be generally received. Of this we shall know more, when the Convention of the several States have another meeting.

"With great esteem," &c. "B. FRANKLIN."

The American Prayer-Book was calculated to remove all doubts:

"Dr. Franklin has sent me a copy of the Prayer-Book agreed upon by the Convention of Episcopal churches. You will be happy to hear that it is perfectly orthodox, and that 'most of the amendments, or alterations, which

'had the sanction of the great divines of 1689*, have been adopted.' And they profess in the Preface—'It is far from the intention of this church to 'depart from the Church of England, any farther than local circumstances 'require; or to deviate in any thing essential to the true meaning of the 'Thirty-nine Articles†.'"

Mr. Sharp did not delay to avail himself of this new advantage:

MS. "July 17, 1786.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, and left with him Dr. Franklin's letter, Dr. Rush's, and Mr. Manning's; also, the new American Prayer-Book.

"27th.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace read to me the long letter, signed by himself and the Archbishop of York, to the Convention in America. He desired copies of the letters I had before left with him."

These proceedings appear to have been conclusive.

"The Archbishop very obligingly took the trouble to read over to me the letter which he and the Archbishop of York wrote to the American Convention, and the forms of the certificates, or testimonials, which they proposed as being most satisfactory. The letter is exceedingly well drawn up, with all the solemnity and true Christian propriety that you could possibly wish on the occasion‡."

The Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, was in the mean time opened on the 21st of June, when an appropriate sermon was delivered in Christ church in Philadelphia, by the Rev. William White§, the first Bishop elect of Pennsylvania. The two Bishops, Dr. White and Dr. Prevost, then proceeded to England.

* See note in page 231.

† Letter to Dr. J. Sharp, July 15, 1786.

‡ Letter to Dr. J. Sharp.

§ The sermon was printed at the request of the Convention, and Dr. White sent a copy of it to Mr. G. S.

On their arrival, Mr. Sharp was still the organ of their communication with the English Primate :

MS. " Jan. 1, 1787.—Spoke with the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Watson) about the Bishops of America.

" 6th.—Dined with the Bishop of Llandaff, and met there the two American Bishops, and the Recorder of London.

" 9th.—At Lambeth. Saw the Archbishop, and had a very satisfactory answer. I informed Dr. Prevost."

The two Bishops elect were finally presented by Mr. Sharp to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and on the 4th of February received consecration from his hands. On the next day, they took an affectionate leave of their conductor, and set sail for America.

About three years afterwards, a third American Bishop, Dr. Madison, arrived in England for consecration.—

MS. " 1790. Sept. 3d.—Received a letter from Mr. Donald, informing me that Dr. Madison, the Bishop elect of Virginia, is much obliged by my offer of introducing him to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

" 5th. *Sunday*.—This day I waited on the Archbishop, for leave to introduce the Bishop elect from Virginia, and informed his Grace, that the Episcopal convention of America had written to him, and received no answer. He very kindly brought a copy of the answer signed by him and the Archbishop of York and read it to me, and the heads of the opinions they had taken on the occasion. He gave me leave to introduce Dr. Madison that afternoon*. I went in search of him to Knightsbridge, and then into the City, and then

* Some particular circumstances rendered the consecration of Dr. Madison interesting to the Englsih Primates.—*See Correspondence.*

back again to Knightsbridge, where I found him, and introduced him to the Archbishop at eight o'clock at night*."

The consecration which followed, enabled the American church to consecrate without farther application to England. "A third Bishop," says another minute, "Dr. Madison of Virginia, was also consecrated by the Archbishop. Since that time, there being a sufficient number of Bishops in America for the performance of the sacred rite, two Bishops have lately been elected and consecrated there: viz. one for Carolina, and the other for Massachusetts Bay†."

Few, if any, examples can be found of more momentous, or more

* These particulars are retained, as they show the unwearied activity so often remarked.

† A summary of the circumstances that have been related, is contained in a letter from Mr. Sharp (addressed to a friend at a later period), which communicates some other curious particulars. The following are extracts:

"When Dr. Seabury left the Archbishop in the manner which I have mentioned, he hastened to Scotland, to be consecrated by the Scotch Bishops, who at that time had applied to the Pretender for writs of *Congé d'Elire*, though my own grandfather had assisted them during the cruel persecutions of the Presbyterians, and afterward obtained from Queen Anne a power for them to continue their Episcopal elections *among themselves*, without other interference of Government. This he obtained as Archbishop of York."

"About the same time I received a letter from Dr. Franklin, informing me that a general convention of the clergy and people of America, consisting of Presbyterians and other dissenters, was then assembled, to elect three bishops, one for New York, another for Pennsylvania, and a third for Virginia; who were to be sent to England for consecration. I immediately acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury with this extraordinary circumstance, and he gave me authority to inform Dr. Franklin, that if the Americans would send proper certificates of three years' good moral character and Christian conduct, and also of sufficient learning for so important a function, that he (the Archbishop) would do every thing in his power to promote it. For Lord Chancellor Thurlow had opposed the measure, on the ground that the Act of Uniformity would not permit the Bishops of England to extend their authority beyond the bounds of this kingdom; against which opinion I asserted, that the Act of Uniformity must have *a legal construction*, or else it must be deemed null and void; and if it contained any words which denied the right of the Bishops of England to extend the primitive apostolic church of Christ all over the world, that it must be deemed a *mere nullity*.—Soon afterwards, the Archbishop began to have doubts about the orthodoxy of these American Presbyterians; but, providentially, Dr. Franklin sent me one of the new American Prayer-Books, which had been copied from an important record lodged in the Archbishop's own library at Lambeth by Archbishop Tillotson, and the Bishops Tenison, Stillingfleet, Lloyd, &c., and had been drawn up under a commission issued by King William the Third, appointing an assembly of all the Bishops of England, to whom were added two persons not then bishops, one of whom was my own grandfather, Dr. John Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of York); when the Oxford Tories violently

successful, exertions in the service of the church. By the active intelligence of a single person, the mutual prejudices and doubts of the two countries were removed, and the functions of the Episcopal order duly established in America.

The fortunate result of Granville's efforts did not make him forgetful of the Source from which he derived it. "I do not presume," he says*, "to claim the least merit in these transactions, but must attribute the success of them entirely to the providence of God, which has thus promoted the *Primitive Episcopal church of Christ.*"

Some few minutes occur, respecting his intercourse with other American provinces, on the concerns of the church.—

G. S. to his brother, Dr. Sharp. [EXTRACT.]

"December 1, 1788.

"I have lately received a very interesting letter from the Chief Justice of Canada†, enclosing a state of the religious concerns of that province, and urging me to lay it before the Archbishop of Canterbury; which I have done; and have found his Grace very earnest to promote the views of the Chief Justice; but the unhappy illness of the King prevents any progress in the business at present. The proposal is, to obtain a grant of lands and buildings for the establishment of a Protestant college at Montreal, and for the maintenance of several schools in different parts. I wish that a *Protestant bishop* was added to the establishment."

In another letter, of the 21st January, 1789:

"I have had another extraordinary application yesterday, from a Loyalist

opposed them in a general convention of the clergy for the correction and improvement of the Liturgy. The American Prayer-Book had thus been formed on the authority of all the Bishops in that assembly (and the Archbishop was fully convinced of this when I presented it to him), so that it is really more valuable and correct than our present Liturgy."

"They have now six Bishops in the independent states of America. The English Government also has appointed Bishops for Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, and Quebec. The independent states first set the important example."

* Letter to Thomas Allan, Esq., 8th December, 1812.

† Brought by Mr. Mank (or Monk), Attorney-General of Canada.

clergyman, to promote the establishment of Episcopacy in the American province of Vermont, adjoining Canada; with assurances of having large tracts of land secured to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, for that purpose; which I will lay before the Archbishop as soon as I can get it copied.

"Your affectionate brother, "G. S."

These applications from Canada and Vermont are strong proofs of the general conviction entertained by all parties, of Mr. Sharp's religious sincerity, and of the disinterested views which at all times prompted his conduct towards America.

MS. "1789. March 13.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, about Canada affairs."

"May 25th.—With the Archbishop of Canterbury, about Canada. He now has hopes of proceeding with success."

Among the measures which Mr. Sharp had considered as most likely to improve his unexpected success in the attempt to establish a pure Protestant Episcopacy in America, he had anxiously endeavoured to promote, through the same channels that were already opened to him, the extension of Christian knowledge over a continent where the human mind appeared to him to be just verging to maturity*, and

* I find among Mr. Sharp's papers on this subject, the following stanzas, in his own handwriting, "On the Prospect of planting Arts and Learning in America, by Dr. Berkley, Bishop of Cloyne."

"IV. There shall be sung another golden age:
The rise of Empire and of Arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts—

"V. Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay—
By future poets shall be sung.

"VI. Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:—
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

where he conceived that, consequently, a general diffusion of the precepts contained in the Scriptures might be of the highest avail. For this virtuous purpose he had followed up his arduous outset by large donations of religious books to the several public libraries in America, adding also such other works as he thought most useful to the advancing state of the provinces. "I have sent presents of books" (he says, in a letter to his brother Dr. J. Sharp, 1784) "to the libraries in all the principal places in America, in order to gain some little influence to enable me to promote Episcopacy throughout that continent."

The various letters that passed on these occasions are proper to be inserted in this place, but being too numerous for the purpose of a narrative, they will be found in the *Correspondence*. They contain some interesting particulars of the *literary institutions* of the colonies. In one of them, we meet with the two brothers, William and Granville, uniting their endeavours to diffuse the blessing of religious instruction.

But Mr. Sharp's liberality extended beyond the motives which gave it birth. Long after his purpose had been fully attained, we shall find him largely renewing his gifts to the various American colleges and public libraries *.

* His bounty to public libraries appears to have had a very early date, and to have continued to a very late period of his life. One of the earliest, and one of the latest instances, are found in the following documents.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Reigate, 11th May, 1773.

"I have received from Mr. Bryant twenty-seven volumes, as a present from you to our public library—not founded by Lord Somers, as I suppose you have been misinformed, but by a poor predecessor of mine in this poor vicarage; his name was Andrew Cranston.

"It is very kind in you to consider the wants of us country parsons, who are early in life banished the society and conversation of the learned, and excluded by our situation from all access to libraries, and so quickly lose the small smattering of learning which we had picked up at the university; and this not always through our own fault or idleness, but often merely for want of tools to work with. For, by the wholesome regulations of King Henry VIII. we are generally reduced to so scanty an allowance, as, after the necessary provision of food and raiment, to have little to lay out on books or other literary apparatus; and so we soon and insensibly slide into the character and habits of the country farmers with whom we are condemned to pass our days. This misfortune is partly prevented, or alleviated, by the institution of parochial libraries, where they take place; and might be so in a greater degree, were men of

On the return of peace, he had also renewed his communication with Anthony Benezet; but this correspondence was of short duration: the term of Benezet's labours was approaching, and Mr. Sharp's last letter was withheld on account of the declining state of his correspondent. This excellent man died at Philadelphia in the spring of 1784. The interment of his remains was attended by several thousands of all ranks, professions, and parties, who united in deploring their loss. The mournful procession was closed by some hundreds of those poor Africans who had been personally benefited by his labours, and whose behaviour on the occasion showed the gratitude and affection which they considered to be due to him as their own private benefactor, as well as the benefactor of their whole race.

your considerate and liberal spirit more frequently met with. These being my real sentiments, you will believe it is with sincerity that, as well on my own behalf as on that of my neighbouring brethren, I return you hearty thanks for your very handsome present.

"I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

"W. STEAD."

"MIDDLE TEMPLE. } *At a Parliament holden the 8th day of February*, 1805:

"Ordered, that the Thanks of this Parliament be presented to Granville Sharp, Esq. for his very obliging present of several volumes and pamphlets, chiefly on legal subjects, and of the greater part of which he is the Author, to be placed in the Library of this Society.

"W. ELDRED, *Sub-Treasurer*."

CHAP. VIII.

IT is here requisite to interrupt the history of the zealous exertions of a philanthropist in favour of a new world, in order to turn once more to the vices of the old one. In 1783, Mr. Sharp found himself called on for a renewal of his benevolent efforts in behalf of African slaves. The case which presented itself was of the greatest enormity, and most atrocious description. Let us first see his own Manuscript notes of the transaction.

MS. "March 19.—Gustavus Vasa, a Negro, called on me, with an account of one hundred and thirty Negroes being thrown alive into the sea, from on board an English slave ship.

"20th.—Called on Dr. Bever this evening, to consult about prosecuting the murderers of the Negroes.

"21st.—Called on the Bishops of Chester and Peterborough, and General Oglethorpe, and Dr. Jebb.

"22d.—Ordered Messrs. Heseltine and Lushington to commence a prosecution in the Admiralty Court, against all persons concerned in throwing into the sea one hundred and thirty Negro slaves, as stated on a trial at Guildhall on the 6th of this month.

"May 19th.—Attended the Court of King's Bench with a short-
20th. hand writer.
21st. This day the Negro cause came on between the
22d. insurers and the owners of the slave ship, from on board of which the one hundred and thirty poor Negroes were cast into the sea. A new trial is granted to the insurers."

The circumstances of this case could not fail to excite a deep interest. The master of a slave ship, trading from Africa to Jamaica,

and having four hundred and forty slaves on board, had thought fit, on a pretext that he might be distressed on his voyage for want of water, to lessen the consumption of it in the vessel by throwing overboard one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly among the slaves.

On his return to England, the owners of the ship claimed from the insurers the full value of those drowned slaves, on the ground that there was an absolute necessity for throwing them into the sea, in order to save the remaining crew, and the ship itself.

The underwriters contested the existence of the alleged necessity; or, if it had existed, attributed it to the ignorance and improper conduct of the master of the vessel.

This contest of pecuniary interest brought to light a scene of horrid brutality, which had been acted during the execution of a detestable plot. From the trial, it appeared, that the ship Zong (or Zung), Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, Sept. 6th, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves, and fourteen whites, on board, for Jamaica; and that on the November following she fell in with that island; but instead of proceeding to some port, the master, mistaking (as he alleged) Jamaica for Hispaniola, run her to leeward.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place on board the crowded vessel: so that, between the time of leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th of November, sixty slaves and seven white people had died; and a great number of the surviving slaves were then sick, and not likely to live long. On that day, the master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and stated to them, that if the sick slaves died a natural death, the loss would fall on the owners of the ship*, but if they were thrown alive into the sea,

* This was in fact the law then observed respecting Negro slaves.

Lord Mansfield (on application for a second trial). "Since the trial, I was informed, if the slaves die a natural death, the underwriters do not pay for them, but, in an engagement, if they are attacked and the slaves are killed, they will be paid for as much as for damages done to goods; and it is frequently done: just as if horses were killed. They are paid for in the gross, as well as for horses killed; but you don't pay for horses that die a natural death."

From Minutes taken in Court, May 21, 1783.

on any sufficient pretext of necessity for the safety of the ship, it would be the loss of the underwriters: alleging, at the same time, that it would be "less cruel to throw the sick wretches into the sea, than to suffer them to linger out a few days, under the disorder with which they were afflicted."

To this inhuman proposal the mate, James Kelsal, at first objected, but Collingwood at length prevailed on the crew to listen to it. He then chose out from the cargo one hundred and thirty-two slaves, and brought them on deck; all, or most of whom, were sickly, and not likely to recover; and he ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea. "*A parcel*" of them were accordingly thrown overboard, and, on counting over the remainder the next morning, it appeared, that the number so drowned had been fifty-four. He then ordered another *parcel* to be thrown over, which, on a second counting on the succeeding day, was proved to have amounted to forty-two.

On that (the third) day, the remaining thirty-six were brought on deck, and, as these now resisted the cruel purpose of their masters, the arms of twenty-six were fettered with irons, and the savage crew proceeded with the diabolical work, casting them down to join their comrades of the former days. Outraged misery could endure no longer: the ten last victims sprang disdainfully from the grasp of their tyrants, defied their power, and, leaping into the sea, felt a momentary triumph in the embrace of death.

To palliate the guilt of these atrocious acts, it was alleged on the trial, that when the captain made the horrid proposal to his crew, he had discovered that there was a scarcity of water on board; and as the large quantity of the *human cargo*—so it was afterwards called by the Solicitor-General—[*great and merciful God! shall we not daily thank thee that this infamy no longer stains the page of our history!*]—as *that circumstance* increased the scarcity, he took the method which had been stated, of relieving himself and his crew from the impending danger. It was, however, proved in reply, that no person in the ship had been put on short allowance of water at any moment; and, moreover, that plentiful rain fell in the course of the *second* day; *after*

which, Collingwood persisted in throwing overboard the remaining thirty-six Negroes.

It was obvious, therefore, that the cause of this detestable action lay elsewhere, and it was proved, on examination, that it was in reality a plan to defraud the insurers in the manner above stated. The master of the ship had also a separate interest in this conduct, as he received his *per-centage* in proportion to the quantity and value of the cargo. The diminution of the *human part of the cargo* by a natural death, diminished the profits of his commission, by diminishing the amount of the value of the whole; but, if the drowned were to be paid for by the insurers, they still constituted a part of the value of the cargo, and the master retained his whole profits.

Notwithstanding this self-evident statement, the verdict of the jury was, on the first trial, in favour of the owners and Capt. Collingwood.

On an application to Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench, for a second trial, the Solicitor-General (Lee) appeared a second time for the owners; when, in addition to his professional task of defending their claims on the underwriters, he, in eloquent but obdurate language, reprobated the "pretended appeals" of the counsel on the other side to the "feelings of humanity," and asserted the unquestionable right of the master of the vessel (in point of law) to throw overboard as many living slaves as he pleased, provided he exhibited a powerful reason for so doing.

"What is all this vast declamation," he said, "of *human people being thrown overboard?* The question after all is, was it voluntary, or an act of necessity?

"This is a case of *chattels or goods.* It is really so: it is the case of throwing over goods; for to this purpose, and the purpose of the insurance, they are *goods* and *property: whether right or wrong, we have nothing to do with it.*"

"This property—*the human creatures, if you will*—have been thrown overboard: whether or not for the preservation of the rest, that is the real question."

Mr. Sharp had an interest in this cause very different from that

which formed the plea of the underwriters, but his presence at the trial did not escape the notice of the pleaders employed on the part of Collingwood :—

NS. "At the trial respecting the ship Zong, an eminent counsel for the owners (J. Lee, of Yorkshire, Esq.) violently exclaimed to the Judges, that a person was in Court (at the same time turning round and looking at me) who intended to bring on a criminal prosecution for murder against the parties concerned: 'but,' said he, '*it would be madness: the Blacks were property*,' &c. &c."

This violence of personal censure will appear less surprising, if we regard the side of the question on which the orator stood. His cause certainly suffered much by the additional charge brought against it by Mr. Sharp's humanity. The advocates for the insurers were, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Pigot, and Mr. Heywood, who, in the course of their speeches, made many allusions to that point of the case which Mr. Sharp considered as a just ground for a criminal prosecution.

"Is it not strange," said Mr. Pigot, "that the parties concerned should be suffered to go out of the kingdom, when they ought to be tried for murder in another place?"

"Is this thing to be justified? Was there such a necessity, that every man who hears me will say it was inevitable? Another thing is,—*was it to be done at all?* The life of one man is like the life of another man, whatever the complexion is. Suppose the exigency described had existed—I ground myself on the rights and essential interests of humanity—I contend, that as long as any water remained to be divided, these men were as much entitled to their share as the captain, or any other man whatever."

Mr. Heywood. "That the present is a *new* cause, is allowed on all hands, and I hope, for the honour of humanity and mankind in general, it will be the *last*. That in point of importance it is the greatest that ever came before this Court, cannot be disputed. We are not now merely defending the underwriters from the damages

obtained against them: I cannot help thinking that my friends who came before me, and myself, on this occasion, appear as counsel for millions of mankind, and the cause of humanity in general."

Lord Mansfield also appears to have weighed the same point very strictly.—"The matter," he said, "left to the jury, was, *whether it was from necessity;* for they had no doubt (*though it shocks one very much*) that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard. *It is a very shocking case.*"

A rule for a new trial was granted by his Lordship on behalf of the underwriters; and Mr. Sharp, with his accustomed energy of mind and action, immediately sent an attested account of the whole transaction to the Lords of the Admiralty, addressing a copy of it likewise to the Duke of Portland, then first Lord of the Treasury.

G. S. to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

[*Enclosing the copy of a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, with an account of the murder of one hundred and thirty-two Negro slaves, on board the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader.*]

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, July 18, 1783.

"In the year 1772, when Lord North was his Majesty's first minister, I stated in a letter to his Lordship some unquestionable proofs of the necessity of abolishing slavery in the colonies, and of putting a stop to the Slave Trade. Since that time, the much greater part of our colonial dominions have been severed from the British empire; but the most enormous of all our national iniquities, the Slave Trade, is still fostered by Parliamentary authority, and slavery is still established in the small remains of our colonial possessions. As a proof of the extreme depravity which the Slave Trade introduces amongst those that become inured to it, I have enclosed the copy of a letter which I sent to the Lords of the Admiralty in the beginning of the present month, with an account of the murder of one hundred and thirty-two Negro slaves on board the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader. The original vouchers are now at the Admiralty, and I have not yet received any answer respecting them. The punishment of that murder belongs properly to the Admiralty department, and therefore I do not apply to your Grace on that account; but only wish, by the horrible example related in the enclosed papers, to warn your Grace, that

there is an absolute necessity to abolish the Slave Trade and the West-India slavery; and that 'to be in power, and to neglect, as life (and I may add, the 'tenure of office) is very uncertain, *even a day*, in endeavouring to put a stop to 'such *monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness*, must necessarily endanger 'a man's *eternal welfare*, be he ever so great in *temporal dignity* or office.' This was my warning to Lord North eleven years ago.

"With great respect, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient," &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from G. S. to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"My Lords, "Old Jewry, London, 2d July, 1783.

"As the cognisance and right of inquiry concerning all murders committed on board British ships, belongs properly to the Admiralty department, I think it my duty to lay before your Lordships two manuscript accounts, wherein are stated, from unquestionable authority, the circumstances of a most inhuman murder, committed by Luke Collingwood the master, James Kelsal the mate, and other persons the mariners or crew, of the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader, freighted with slaves, &c., from the coast of Africa: which master, mate, and crew, on pretence of necessity (lest there should be a want of water), wilfully and deliberately destroyed one hundred and twenty-two Negro slaves, by casting them alive (as it is deposed) into the sea, with their hands bound or fettered, to deprive them of all possibility of escaping. Having been earnestly solicited and called upon by a poor Negro for my assistance, to avenge the blood of his murdered countrymen, I thought it my duty to spare neither labour nor expense in collecting all the information concerning this horrible transaction that I could possibly procure, for the sake of national justice, that the blood of the murdered may not rest on the whole kingdom, which already labours under too awful a load of guilt in tolerating the iniquitous Slave Trade, whereby, amongst other evils, this most inhuman and diabolical deed was occasioned. One of the manuscripts (marked Voucher No. 1) is an authentic copy, from the office of the Court of Exchequer, of a bill or petition, presented to that Court, last Hilary Term, in behalf of the underwriters and insurers of the said ship Zong, or Zung, plaintiffs, against Messrs. William, John, and James Gregson, and others, merchants of Liverpool, and owners of the said ship and cargo, who obtained a verdict in the Court of King's Bench, on the 6th of March last, against the said underwriters, for the value of the murdered slaves, rated at 30*l.* per head, though alleged to be wilfully drowned by the agents and servants of the said owners: so that this

most abominable iniquity has been notoriously favoured and encouraged in that solemn Court; but on what principle, is not easy to be conceived.

"The other manuscript book (marked Voucher No. 2) contains a copy of minutes taken in short hand the last term, on the 22d and 23d May, 1783, of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, on a motion for a new trial of the cause of the same parties mentioned above, concerning the *value* of those murdered Negroes! Thus the contest between the owners and insurers of the ship, though a mere mercenary business amongst themselves about the *pecuniary* value, and not for the *blood*, of so many human persons wickedly and unjustly put to death, has, nevertheless, occasioned the disclosure of that horrible transaction, which otherwise, perhaps, might have been known only amongst the impious slave-dealers, and have never been brought to light.

"It will, however, be necessary for me to add to these vouchers a brief statement (which is enclosed*) of the principal circumstances of the case, because the two manuscripts are much too long for the perusal of your Lordships, except in the way of reference to particular parts, as to vouchers of the facts. As there is some variation in the two accounts respecting the number of persons murdered, it is necessary to remark, that it appears upon the whole evidence, that no less than *one hundred and thirty-three* of the unhappy slaves on board the Zong were inhumanly doomed to be cast into the sea—(Voucher, No. 1, p. 2 and 3)—and that all the other numbers mentioned in the several accounts are to be included in that number—viz. the *one hundred and twenty-two* mentioned in the beginning of this letter, who were cast *alive*, as the owners and their witnesses assert, into the sea, with their hands fettered; also *ten* poor Negroes, who, being terrified with what they had seen of the unhappy fate of their countrymen, jumped overboard, in order to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were *drowned;* and *one* man more, that had been *cast overboard alive*, but escaped, it seems, by laying hold of a rope which hung from the ship into the water, and thereby, without being perceived, regained the ship, secreted himself, and was saved. It is necessary also to add to the enclosed statement, some remarks, in answer to the arguments and doctrines of a very eminent and learned lawyer †, who, to the dishonour of his profession, attempted to vindicate the inhuman transaction.

* The narrative delivered to the Lords of the Admiralty will be found in the *Appendix*.

† I find the following note annexed to the original document of this letter, at this place:—"Memorandum. John Lee, Esq., a Yorkshire man, who spoke very broad in the provincial dialect of that county, which has seldom been so grossly profaned as by this lawyer?"

N. B. His *name* was not inserted in the letter sent to the Admiralty.

"The reality of the fact, according to the evidence produced, was testified upon oath in one of our highest courts of justice, and was notoriously admitted by both the contending parties. Mr. Robert Stubbs, late Governor of Annamaboo, &c., is a living witness to a part of the transaction, and is now in town. He told me himself, that he saw several of the poor creatures plunging in the sea that had been cast overboard, though he alleges that he did not see who cast them over; for he says, he was only a passenger in the ship, and had nothing to do in the transaction, but remained below at the time they were cast over. Also, the officers and crew of the ship William (Richard Hanley, late master), and the owners of the said ship, viz. Messrs. Gregson, Cave, Wilson, and Aspinal, of Liverpool, merchants (mentioned in Voucher No. 1), can probably give sufficient information where the guilty crew of the Zong, whom they employed, are to be found, as also their names, &c. And Mr. ———, who defended the cause of the said owners, has attended their consultation, and was in possession of the evidence or deposition of James Kelsal, the chief mate of the Zong (Voucher No. 2, p. 44, cap. 29. orig.), will be able to confirm the notoriety of the fact; and so also will the attorneys employed in the cause on both sides the question,—viz. Messrs. Brograve and Lyon for the owners of the Zong, and Mr. Townley Ward for the insurers.

"Informed of all these particulars, your Lordships will now be enabled to judge whether there is sufficient evidence for a criminal prosecution of the murderers—viz. the chief mate and the rest of the crew of the said ship Zong, or Zung—before the Grand Jury at the next Admiralty sessions. Luke Collingwood, the master, is reported to be dead, as also Richard Hanley, the master of the ship William above mentioned.

"With the greatest respect, my Lords," &c. &c.

Although the powerful manner, in which the account alluded to in the foregoing letter was drawn up by Mr. Sharp, gave fresh force to the natural interest of the cause, he nevertheless failed in his endeavours to bring a farther punishment on the perpetrators of the horrid tragedy. But the failure of his attempt, and the insult offered, in the expressions of the pleader, to feelings which the sense of mercy and justice had inspired, were doomed by the great Fountain of Mercy to be fatal to the wicked interests of slavery.

The deduction that was to be formed from the scene that had

passed, was too obvious not to suggest itself even to the dullest observer. A high court of English judicature had heard one of the great organs of the law avow the case, in which he asserted, that "*so far from the guilt of any thing like a murderous act,*" in casting one hundred and thirty-three living and unoffending human creatures into the sea, to perish there; so far from "*any shew or suggestion of cruelty,*" there was not even a "*surmise of impropriety* in the transaction;" and that, *to bring a charge of murder,* against those who had acted this part of uncontrouled power, into an English court of law, "*would argue nothing less than madness*" in him who brought it thither*. To what could this stigma on the juridical code of England be ascribed? Not, surely, to the natural feelings in the heart of the great lawyer who pronounced it: that would be to impute to him an obduracy, an insensibility to human emotions, too gross to have found its way to so honoured and elevated a situation. The reverse was evident. He declared, as his great professional learning instructed him, the *actual condition* of the law in England, relative to the question before him, and asserted that it authorised the statement he had made; namely, that there existed the case, in which there was no legal impropriety in deliberately casting our unoffending and defenceless fellow-creatures into the sea, fettered, or otherwise prevented from hopes of succour. Where was the "heart so hard, or the head so inaccessible," that did not instantly take part against such a state of things, in a country, of which the enlightened laws and impartial justice were acknowledged as the boasts of human wisdom, and the patterns of human freedom?

This view of the case was eagerly seized by the sagacity of Granville. Besides the letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, he employed every means in his power to give the utmost publicity to the circumstances that had happened, and the arguments that had been employed. He sent an account of the whole transaction to the news-

* The expressions printed in italics, were also used on this occasion by the Solicitor-General, who was employed for the owners.

papers—he handed about a copy of the minutes (which he had procured in short-hand) of the trial, and of the speeches on both sides—he was also unwearied in diffusing his powerful and unanswerable remarks on the flagrant enormity of the case, which had been so strenuously vindicated;—and perhaps the cause of African freedom may thus reckon among the most effective instruments of its support, the masterly and successful arguments of the Solicitor-General, in the barbarian triumph upheld on that occasion over reason and human feelings, as well as over the otherwise enlightened policy of England.

But the following letters will evince the impression which Mr. Sharp's conduct had made on men of virtuous minds.

Dr. Hinchcliff, Bishop of Peterborough, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Peterborough, August 31, 1783.

" I return to you the enclosed narrative of one of the most inhuman barbarities that I ever read of. Were religion and humanity attended to, there can be no doubt that the horrid traffic would entirely cease; but they have too small a voice, to be heard among the clamours of avarice and ambition. Your benevolent endeavours to assist the wretched Africans, however unsuccessful in *their* favour, cannot be so in *your own*. As a friend to mankind, permit me to thank you, and to assure you that I am,

" With the truest esteem and regard, dear Sir, your faithful friend, &c.

" J. PETERBOROUGH."

Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " George Street, Thursday.

" I return you many thanks for the copy of the letter you was so obliging as to send me. Your observations are so just, and so full to the purpose, that I can add nothing to them but my entire approbation.

" The letter in the newspapers I had seen before; and I had heard the shocking fact alluded to in it, from a friend of mine, who happened to be present at the trial. Your generous zeal in behalf of the oppressed and injured Negroes is highly commendable, and I hope the attention of the public will be excited by your humane endeavours towards this important object. I expect

soon, that a very excellent book on this subject will be published by a friend of mine in Kent, which I alluded to in my sermon, and shall take farther notice of it in a note.

" I am, Sir, your obliged, obedient Servant,

" B. CHESTER*."

Mr. Sharp's personal activity in the relief of friendless slaves, continued for many years after the above trial. His memoranda notice an instance in a case of urgent danger, in 1786.

MS. " *Harry Demane, servant to —— Jeffries, Esq.*

" 1786, July 28.—Was informed by John Stewart, and Green, that Harry was trepanned by his master, and carried away and sent on shipboard. Went to the Lord Mayor, and to several Aldermen at Guildhall, also to Bow Street, and Litchfield Street, and could not get a warrant; and, no Judge being in town, I was disappointed of a writ of Habeas Corpus.

" 29.—Sent Mr. Irwin to call at Mr. Mearn's, surgeon and apothecary in Bedford Street, where Mr. Jeffries lodged. Mr. Irwin took Mr. Fraser with him. They saw Mr. J., who was much frightened, and acknowledged the fact, and the name of the ship and the master.—Sent Mr. Irwin to Messrs. Douce and Bridgman, attorneys, who sent one clerk (Savage) with Irwin, Green, and Stewart, to Litchfield Street, to obtain a warrant; but were again refused, notwithstanding the additional evidence. The other clerk, Mr. Day, was sent to procure a Habeas Corpus, which he obtained of the Prothonotary's clerk, signed by the Court, and having the office seals affixed; and he brought it to me about nine o'clock.

" We then agreed that Mr. Savage should go to serve the writ,

* " Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester (but now Bishop of London), came forward as a new advocate for the natives of Africa. The way in which he rendered them service, was by preaching a sermon in their behalf before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Of the wide circulation of this sermon I shall speak in another place, and much more of the enlightened and pious author of it, who never failed to aid at every opportunity the cause which he had so ably undertaken."—*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

and should take with him Stewart, or Mr. Green, whichever was most readily found; and Mr. Irwin informed me by letter, on Sunday morning, 30th July, that he saw Savage and Green set off last night.

"Monday noon, July 31.—Mr. Savage and Green arrived in town, bringing with them Henry Demane. They informed me, that when they reached the ship, the anchor was getting up, the sails set, and the captain himself at the helm; so that a single minute more of delay would have lost the opportunity of recovery. Henry confessed that he had intended to have jumped into the sea as soon as it was dark; choosing rather to die than to be carried into slavery.—I sent him with proper officers to find out his master."

A letter also to his brother, Dr. J. Sharp (inserted in the *Correspondence*), gives an account of the rescue of two other slaves, who had been captured at sea, and illiberally detained by the master of the vessel, during the progress of the Abolition Society*. The

* The list of slaves rescued in England by Mr. Sharp, stands thus in his own memoranda:

MS. "Jonathan Strong ..... saved from the Poultry compter, &c.
Thomas Lewis ..... saved from a ship in the Downs.
John Thomas ..... who went afterwards to China.
Another John Thomas ..... brought by a clergyman's widow.
An Indian.
James Somerset ..... in whose case Lord Mansfield gave a just and decisive judgment.
Two Negroes from the Havannah, demanded and saved from an English ship in the river Thames; one of whom was a free man of Antigua, who escaped with the other from a prison at the Havannah: both his feet were mortified with the cold on board the English ship, so that when G. S. sent him to St. Bartholomew's hospital, they were obliged to amputate both legs near to the knee.
Another Negro, son of an eminent slave-dealer at Sierra Leone, and an acquaintance of young Naimbanna, (the King's son) ..... } saved from on board a ship in the Downs, with nearly the same extraordinary circumstances as in the case of T. Lewis.
John Cambridge ..... defended against Capt. Holman."

conclusion of these benevolent efforts will be found in a later letter, addressed to a gentleman of eminent piety and humanity *.

But after his personal interference had ceased, the influence of his name remained. The following anecdote is given on the authority of an amiable man, whose death is a loss to professional science †.

A native of Otaheite had been enticed, by the offer of presents, from the shore of his island on board an English vessel, kidnapped, and brought to England. Being an expert swimmer and diver, his skill had been very profitably employed during the voyage, in the capture of seals, of which he had succeeded in killing a great number. On arriving in England, the master of the vessel refused to give him any pay for his services, and he applied, through another Otaheitean, to a friend (Mr. F.) for assistance. Mr. F. went to the house of the merchants who owned the vessel, and pleaded the poor Islander's cause. He was abruptly refused, and was told that "they would spend 500*l.* in repelling any application of the kind, rather than pay the Otaheitean a farthing." Mr. F. in this dilemma, wrote to Mr. Granville Sharp, who the next day called on him, and directed him what course to pursue, requesting, if any subscription became necessary, that his name might be set down at the head of the list for two guineas.

The subscription, however, was not wanted. It no sooner was known to the merchants in question that Mr. Sharp's sanction was obtained for proceeding against them, than they proposed an arbitration; which being agreed to, the Otaheitean was by their own arbitrator adjudged the pay which had been solicited, and which was that of an ordinary seaman, for the time of the voyage, amounting altogether to about 30*l.*

Of such value was the *Nominis Umbra.*

* See *Correspondence.* † Mr. Joseph Fox.

CHAP. IX.

WE may now return to the narrative of Mr. Sharp's attention to the public establishments in America.

Besides the valuable presents of books to the American libraries, he extended his view to various regulations, which he conceived might be most useful to an advancing state, and he communicated them to the leading statesmen of that continent. Among them, the antient system of Frank-pledge holds a considerable place. It was this system which he had, on several different occasions, suggested to men in high situations in his own country, as the rule of political constitution; and he had constantly proposed its adoption, as the only sound method of civil reform. He found arguments for its support in reason, in law, and in the sacred Scriptures*. A few extracts from letters which passed between him and some of the most eminent Americans at this time, will continue the view of his opinions, and the estimation in which they were held.

Dr. Franklin to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Dear Sir, "Passy, July 5, 1785.

"I received the books you were so kind as to send: please to accept my hearty thanks. Your writings, which always have some public good for their object, I always read with pleasure. I am perfectly of your opinion with respect to the salutary law of gavelkind, and hope it may in time be established throughout America. In six of the states already, the lands of intestates are divided equally among the children, if all girls; but there is a double share given to the eldest son, for which I see no more reason than in giving such share to the eldest daughter; and think there should be no distinction. Since my being last in France, I have seen several of our eldest sons spending

* See *Correspondence.*

idly their fortunes, by residing in Europe and neglecting their own country: these are from the southern states. The northern young men stay at home, and are industrious, useful citizens; the more equal division of their father's fortunes not enabling them to ramble and spend their shares abroad; which is so much the better for their country.

"I am departing for America, where I shall be glad occasionally to hear from you and of your welfare, being, with sincere and great esteem," &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

His Excellency John Adams, to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Grosvenor Square, March 8, 1786.

"You have merited the respect and esteem of all men, among whom liberty and humanity are not disregarded, by your writings. The idea, that captives in war are slaves, is the foundation of the misfortunes of the Negroes. This principle is honoured and admitted by all the powers of Europe, who pay tributes to the states of Barbary.

"I expect that one part of Africa will avenge upon my fellow-citizens, the injury they do to another, by purchasing their captives. Yet, I presume, we shall be compelled to follow the base example of submission, and pay tributes, or make presents, like the rest of Christians, to the Mussulmen.

"I wish you would take up the whole of this African system, and expose it altogether. Never, never will the Slave Trade be abolished, while Christian princes abase themselves before the piratical ensigns of Mahomet.

"With great esteem," &c. "JOHN ADAMS."

Dr. Franklin, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Philadelphia, June 9, 1787.

"The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of Slavery and the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, have taken the liberty to request your acceptance of a few copies of their constitution, and the laws of Pennsylvania which relate to one of the objects of their institution.

"From a most grateful sense of the zeal and abilities with which you have long and successfully defended the claims of the oppressed Africans, the Society have done themselves the honour of enrolling your name in the number of their corresponding members, and they earnestly request the continuance of your labours in the great object of their institution,—for in this

business, the friends to humanity in every country are of one nation and religion.

"I am, in behalf of the Society," &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

His Excellency John Jay, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "New York, 1st Sept. 1788.

"The Society established in this city for promoting the manumission of Slaves, &c., did, at their last meeting, admit you an honorary member of it; and I have now the pleasure of transmitting to you, herewith enclosed, a certified extract from their minutes on the subject. Be pleased, Sir, to consider this as a mark of the esteem and respect with which your exertions in the cause of humanity have inspired them; and permit me to assure you, that, with similar sentiments, I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

"JOHN JAY, *President.*"

Of Mr. Sharp's replies to these letters, it is only requisite to notice particularly that addressed to Dr. Franklin, the manly tenour of which exhibits another striking view of the simplicity and firmness of the writer's mind. It was written shortly after the time when the code of the *Federal Constitution* was first published in America. The code contained two clauses; by the former of which, Art. i. sect. 9., the importation of slaves into the United States was not to be prohibited till the year 1808 (an interval of twenty-one years!), a tax only being laid on them till that time; and by the latter, Art. iii. sect. 2, it was ordered, that slaves running away from their masters were given to be up again to them*.

To his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., President of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

"Dear Sir, "Leadenhall Street, London, 10th Jan. 1788.

"I ought long ago to have acknowledged the deep sense which I entertain of my obligation to the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the honour they have been pleased to confer upon me by enrolling

* Federal Constitution, 1787, signed Washington.

my name in the number of their corresponding members, as signified in your Excellency's letter of the 9th June last.

"I read, with very particular satisfaction, their excellent remonstrance against slavery, addressed to the late Convention.

"When such solemn and unanswerable appeals to the consciences of men, in behalf of humanity and common justice, are disregarded, the crimes of *slave-dealing* and *slave-holding* become *crying sins*, which presumptuously invite the Divine retribution! So that it must be highly dangerous to the political existence of any state, thus duly warned against injustice, to afford the least sanction to such enormities by their legislative authority.

"Having been always zealous for the honour of free governments, I am the more sincerely grieved to see the new Federal Constitution stained by the insertion of two most exceptionable clauses of the kind above mentioned; the one, in direct opposition to a most humane article, ordained by the first American Congress to be perpetually observed; and the other, in equal opposition to an express command of the Almighty, 'not to deliver up the servant that has 'escaped from his master,' &c. Both clauses, however (the 9th section of the 1st article, and the latter part of the 2d section of the 3d article), are so clearly null and void by their iniquity, that it would be even a *crime* to regard them as law.

"Though I have, indeed, too plainly proved myself a very unworthy and dilatory correspondent, through the unavoidable impediments of a variety of affairs and trusts which have been devolved upon me, yet I must request your Excellency to inform the Pennsylvania Society, that I have never knowingly omitted any favourable opportunity of promoting the great object of their institution, and (I trust in God) I never shall.

"With true esteem and respect, dear Sir," &c. &c.*

"G. S."

In further return for Mr. Sharp's acts of benevolence, America publicly declared her respect for his character, by conferring on him the only distinction which she had thought fit to establish for personal merit. In September 1786, the College of Providence, in Rhode Island, at the public commencement, admitted him to the degree of *Doctor of*

* Another letter of the same date, addressed to Dr. Franklin, repeats his arguments in favour of frank-pledge.

Laws. The example was followed by the University of Cambridge, in the province of Massachusetts; and by that of Williamsburg, in Virginia; and these honours were announced to him by the presidents of the colleges, in expressions of the highest personal esteem*.

Of the answers to their letters also, a single instance will suffice.

To Dr. Willard, President of the University of Cambridge, in the Province of Massachusetts.

" Reverend Sir, " February 25, 1791.

" I had the pleasure of receiving your obliging letter of the 9th November last, together with the diploma for the degree of Doctor of Laws; and am very glad to find, by your subsequent letter, that you had received mine, wherein I had already requested you to present my most grateful acknowledgments to the members of the University of Cambridge, for the honour they have been pleased to confer on me. Having, since, read the favourable sentiments declared in the diploma, by the authority of a body of gentlemen so highly respectable as the corporation and overseers of that university, I can add, that my poor endeavours in the cause of liberty and national right will now have the additional excitement of a very hearty desire to retain their good opinion; relying on the prevention of Divine Providence, that I shall never give occasion to be deemed an unworthy member of their Society.

" I received, by favour of Dr. Windship, the catalogue of your library, and the other books sent therewith, for which I sincerely thank you.

" With great respect and esteem, Reverend Sir," &c. &c.

" G. S."

To the testimonies of his philanthropy one more is to be added. Of what the gift mentioned in the following letter consisted, is uncertain, as no record of it appears among the Manuscript papers. An account of the church to which it was sent, is found in his Correspondence.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Worthy and Respected Sir, " Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1793.

" We want words to express our gratitude to you for all your labours of love to our afflicted nation. You were our advocate when we had but few

* *Correspondence.*

friends on the other side of the water. We request you to accept of our thanks for all your kind and benevolent exertions in behalf of the people of our colour, and in particular for your late *humane donation to our church.*

" Our prayers shall not cease to ascend to the Father of mercies and God of all grace for your health and happiness in this world, and for your eternal happiness in the world to come.

" We are, worthy and respected Sir,

" Your Friends and obedient humble Servants,

" ABSALOM JONES,
WILLIAM GREY,
WILLIAM GARDNERS,
} *Acting Officers of the African Church of Philadelphia.*"

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART III.

SIERRA LEONE.

SETTLEMENT OF A COLONY ON THAT COAST—ITS HISTORY.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ST. GEORGE'S BAY COMPANY.—DISTRESSES AND DANGERS OF THE COLONY —ASSISTANCE GRANTED BY PARLIAMENT.—SURRENDER OF THE TERRITORY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

MR. SHARP'S LETTERS—LETTERS FROM THE SETTLERS—HE SENDS A VESSEL TO THEIR RELIEF—SOLICITS THE PROTECTION OF THE MINISTER—OBTAINS A CHARTER FOR THE COMPANY.

ANECDOTES OF NAIMBANNA, PRINCE OF SIERRA LEONE.

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ANECDOTES OF NAIMBANNA, PRINCE OF SIERRA LEONE.

PART III.

1786.

CHAP. I.

A THIRD event which distinguishes the life of Mr. Sharp followed closely on the establishment of American Episcopacy. The whole of that successful transaction was, indeed, scarcely completed, when a combination of unexpected circumstances produced the first attempt to found the FREE COLONY of SIERRA LEONE.

"In the year 1786," says the obituary account * before noticed, "Mr. Granville Sharp was occupied in humanely trying to remedy an inconvenience, which had grown out of his own benevolent exertions in behalf of the African Slaves. When the case of Somerset was decided, there were many slaves, who had been brought over by their masters, in the metropolis; and although an instance has been stated, in the very year now mentioned, of a Negro rescued with difficulty from the attempt of his master to kidnap him, and to force him to a ship lying in the Downs, yet few attempts of that nature had of late been hazarded. The Negroes, therefore, who had been brought to England, being locked up, as it were, in London, and having now no masters to support them, (many of them

* See note in p. 165.

unaccustomed to any useful handicraft or calling), and having besides no parish which they could call their own, fell by degrees into great distress, so that they were alarmingly conspicuous throughout the streets as common beggars. As Mr. Sharp was their known patron, they had all flocked to him, in their turn, for support: he had considered them as orphans, who had some title to his care; and he had occasionally relieved them. But their number being great (about four hundred), he found that he could not relieve them daily, consistently with his engagements to others. He had many private pensioners, to whom annual sums, and these to a considerable amount, had been promised, and regularly paid: he could not, therefore, take upon him the entire maintenance of his African orphans. In this dilemma, he formed a scheme for their future permanent support. He determined upon sending them to some spot in Africa, the general land of their ancestors, where—when they were once landed, under a proper leader, and with proper provisions for a time, and implements of husbandry—they might, with but moderate industry, provide for themselves."

The general accuracy of this account is confirmed by the MS. Notes, with the exception that Mr. Sharp's determination to send the settlers to Africa did not originate merely in his own view of their misery, but was the consequence of applications made to him by the distressed Blacks themselves.

In a letter also to his brother, dated January 1788, he says—

"The settlers consisted chiefly of Blacks and People of Colour, who had served in the army and navy during the late war; and, having imprudently spent all their earnings, they fell into extreme poverty, and were starving about the streets, till they were relieved, for some time, *by a voluntary subscription of charitable people.*

"In the mean time, a proposal was made to them by the late Mr. Smeathman*, to form a free settlement at Sierra Leone. Many of them came to consult me about the proposal: sometimes they came in large bodies together.

* An ingenious and honourable man, who had lived for some time at the foot of the Sierra Leone Mountains.—*Obituary Acct.*

Upon inquiring among themselves, I found that several of them had been on the spot; and they assured me that there was much fine wood-land unoccupied in that part of the coast. This account was confirmed to me by several other channels, and more particularly by a young Negro man, a native of Sierra Leone, whom I happily saved just at that time from slavery."

To form and direct a colony of this nature, composed from men of ardent passions, whose only lessons had been stripes, and whom experience had instructed to start with dread from their fellow-creatures, demanded a mind and character fraught with all the resources which political knowledge and resolution could supply. But the scope of human action contained no enterprise which, if sanctioned by the precepts of virtue and Christianity, could, "in the shape of difficulty or danger," deter Granville from attempting, or make him shrink from the labour of pursuing it. As soon as he had conversed with Smeathman, he seized every opportunity of improving his knowledge of the local qualities of the land which was designed for his new settlement; and he drew up for the settlers a code of laws, not marked with any refined traits of subtlety and Machiavelian policy, but founded on principles of the purest rectitude, and consistent with the religious as well as moral precepts of the scriptural Theocracy.

A letter written by him at the outset of this difficult enterprise, demonstrates the temper and the views with which it had been undertaken. It comprises, after his usual manner, an extensive view of circumstances relative to the subject before him; and is also, as usual, an example of the clear, benevolent, and deeply-religious mind of the writer.

To his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, 1st August, 1786.

"A very unexpected business having taken up my whole time, ever since I had the honour of waiting on your Grace, I think it right to state the circumstances; the more especially because they are extraordinary.

"Last Friday morning early, two poor Negroes came to inform me that one of their friends was trepanned by his master on shipboard at Gravesend, to be sent as a slave to Barbadoes*. All the Judges being out of town on the circuit, I could not obtain either a warrant, or a writ of Habeas Corpus, after the most unwearied endeavours, till late on Saturday night; and in the mean time I had notice that the ship *was sailed from Gravesend*. However, I sent off the writ by an attorney and the young man's friends, in a post-chaise, that same night, to Deal, in hopes that the ship might not yet have quitted the Channel; and they happily arrived in the Downs just in time to save the poor despairing man. A delay even of a single minute would have been fatal, for the ship was under sail, and the anchor then weighing up! They brought the young man safe to me yesterday at noon; and, after proper consultation, I sent him this morning, with officers, *to catch his master;* but he had prudently decamped, and fled to Scotland. The young man confessed that he had intended to jump into the sea as soon as it was dark, in order to avoid slavery by death.

"This subject, and the temper of mind into which it has thrown me, naturally prompt me to remind your Grace, that the abominable, wicked laws of Barbadoes, which expressly tolerate the wilful murder of a slave, still exist, to the disgrace of this kingdom; and that the ——— estate in that guilty island (now suffering under God's apparent displeasure) is still cultivated by involuntary servitude; though the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel have long experienced the extreme impropriety and unprofitableness of that baneful mode of cultivation. When that business was mentioned at the last meeting of the Society, I could scarcely refrain from declaring my mind about it; but thought it might be improper to interfere, as the business was already referred to a Committee.

"The answer of the Society, signed by Dr. ——, to Mr. Benezet, many years ago, gave me great concern. Mr. Benezet himself sent me a copy of it from Philadelphia, and earnestly entreated my assistance to answer it. I had too much veneration for the Society to permit their opinion to be called publicly in question: but I fully answered their *missionary*, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Th—ps—n, who had attempted publickly to vindicate the African Slave Trade; and sent my answer to Mr. Benezet in MS., which was printed in America by the Quakers.

* The case of Harry Demane, and probably the same that is alluded to in Mr. Clarkson's Obituary Account.

"At every opportunity of leisure afterwards, I applied myself closely to the Scriptures, to search for any particular texts which might seem to afford some excuse for Dr. ——'s contemptuous answer to Mr. Benezet. The result of the examination (which was careful and severe) appeared about ten years ago in several tracts—'The Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God;' 'The Law of Passive Obedience;' 'The Law of Liberty;' and 'The Law of Retribution.' The principal object of my writing was to remove the stigma thrown on our Holy Religion, as if it could be deemed capable of affording any sanction to a complicated system of iniquity. I thought it my duty to appeal at that time to the whole body of Bishops, in 'The Law of Retribution,' calling earnestly upon them, in the name of God, *to stand up for the land, and make up the hedge, to save* their country from the fatal consequences of slavery and oppression.

"It is also my duty to inform your Grace, that I have lately heard several hints of an intention to bring in a Bill for a Duty on Negroes in England, and to compel masters, who bring them over, to give a bond for 100*l.* that they will carry them away again; which would annul the Habeas Corpus Act and other equitable laws for the protection of strangers.

"Nineteen years ago I began to vindicate these laws; and fourteen years ago obtained a complete acknowledgment of their efficacy, whereby the West Indian slave-holders were deterred from bringing with them such swarms of Negro attendants into this island.

"The present set of unfortunate Negroes that are starving in our streets, were brought here on very different occasions. Some, indeed, have been brought as servants, but chiefly by officers; others were Royalists from America; but most are seamen, who have navigated the King's ships from the East and West Indies, or have served in the war, and are thereby entitled to ample protection, and a generous requital. But the proposed Bill, on the contrary, can tend to no other purpose than to disgrace the kingdom by a toleration of slavery even in this free island, and will unavoidably counteract all that has been done with infinite labour and great pecuniary expense. When I look back upon the labour and its effects, and consider the *inability*, natural *slowness*, and at that time *uninformed* state of the *instrument*, I have ample reason to be satisfied that the weak endeavours were utterly inadequate to the effects of them,—which must, therefore, of course, be attributed, not surely to *chance*, but to God's providence alone! This, I confess, is the ground of my confidence for asserting, that if any act of the Legislature shall be framed to set up

uncharitable and unchristian distinctions of complexion in this kingdom, in order once more to introduce slavery, it will be an abomination which cannot fail of drawing down upon us still heavier marks of the Divine displeasure than those we have lately experienced.

"I formerly wrote to your Grace's predecessor, Dr. Cornwallis, on this subject; and I now earnestly renew my solicitation to your Grace on the same account.

"I entreat your Grace's protection and paternal care towards the poor Black strangers, who are now soliciting for a new settlement at Sierra Leone. I sincerely believe, that if Mr. Fraser was ordained as a missionary to attend them, which he earnestly desires, he would be capable of doing great good among them: he seems to be modest, sensible, sober, and steady; and as the settlers earnestly desire to have a Clergyman with them, I humbly submit to your Grace, whether so favourable an opportunity of promoting religious instruction in the wilds of Africa should be suffered to pass away without improvement. Mr. F. assures me, that, notwithstanding his education in the Church of Scotland, he now prefers the discipline of the Church of England, and most heartily wishes to be employed in the ministry. He proposes to go to Africa with the settlers, whether he is ordained or not; so that no person but himself can be at all answerable for the danger of the attempt, in case it should prove unfortunate; and it was only this idea of danger and uncertainty which induced me to withdraw my proposal at the last meeting of the Society.

"The sending a Clergyman with so large a body of people, is absolutely necessary, to preserve order and decorum among them; and Mr. F. cannot possibly do so much good in any other way.

"With the greatest esteem and respect," &c. &c.

But Mr. Sharp's attention to this subject was of an earlier commencement than the period here noticed. The following singular Memorandum appears to have been the result of his first reflections on the nature of the task which he was about to undertake, and probably was succeeded by the more regular code of laws which he transmitted to the infant colony. From its date, it is evident that the idea of an African Settlement had been for a long time in his thoughts before the attempt was made to realise the benevolent scheme;—a scheme, as will be seen, formed for a race of men *supposed* to be

uniformly open to the persuasions of reason. It need not be added, that the scheme was of course so far impracticable, as that experience every day demonstrates the existence of numerous human beings, who, though probably alike endued at their birth with the capability of reasoning, are, by the unavoidable contingencies of education and circumstances, precluded from its advantages.

"AUGUST 1, 1783.

"The proposal for a settlement on the coast of Africa will deserve all encouragement, if the settlers are absolutely prohibited from holding any kind of *property in the persons of men as slaves*, and from selling either man, woman, or child.

"With respect to an allowance or permission to *purchase* slaves, the permission, if granted at all, must be very carefully guarded, and the price given must be considered, and declared to be, merely a *debt for redemption*, due from the person purchased to the society or state of the settlement, and not to be transferred to any one individual in it, (which would introduce domestic tyranny and traffic in the bodies of men): but the debt is to be discharged without interest, whenever the person, or his friends, can raise the money, or to be worked out by a limited proportion of service to the state, wherever the settlement is made.

"Rules must also be laid down to prevent the monopolizing of land; and a sufficient reserve must be made for public services in each township, and also for common-land, and for cottage-land in small parcels; and that all persons, who have large lots of land near a township, shall rather be excluded from a share in the common-lands, than be allowed to claim shares in proportion to their bordering estates.

"That the managers entrusted with the Society's property to form the settlement, shall have no dominion or absolute power or authority, as established governors or judges, over the people, but only the power of agents or overseers for their pecuniary trust and service; for which they should be encouraged, after the first year's salary, by a due proportion or share to each man, in the increase and profits of the

settlement with the proprietors who risk their property in forming it. The defence, legislation, public justice, government, and subordination of the settlers, and the union of the whole community, however large and extensive the settlement may hereafter become, are matters more easily to be accomplished than is generally conceived; provided the ancient Anglo-Saxon government by mutual frank-pledge, in tithings and hundreds, be duly established.

"And this, being already the *common law* of this kingdom, may be established, even if the settlement is made within the boundaries of the present *English claims;* but then the legal process in all courts must be carried on in the King's name, and the settlers must not refuse to admit a Governor, or Lieutenant, of the King's appointment, with limited authority from the Regal Power, according to the Constitution of England, whenever the Privy Council shall think proper to send one.

"But if the settlement be attempted in any other part of Africa, not claimed by European powers, the managers must obtain the consent (and association, if possible) of the *native inhabitants;* or else it may be laid out on an uninhabited part of the coast. And as the majority of the settlers will probably be African Negroes returned from slavery to their native soil, there will be no necessity to form the plan of government by the *constitutional model of England,* any farther than reason and experience may require: for we may then be at liberty to draw a precedent for government from more ancient and more perfect documents than our Saxon records—viz. from the Israelitish commonwealth under the Theocracy, purified and improved by the precepts of the Gospel; and the examples of congregational government among the primitive Christians, who decided their own temporal controversies as well as ecclesiastical questions.

"The Israelitish government elected judges and officers; heads of tens and fifties, hundreds and thousands (except in the extraordinary cases of prophetical judges—though these likewise were probably elected, where their superior abilities were known); the smaller divisions being included and controlled in the larger, and the individuals

of all the divisions being bound to each other, in equal numerical proportions, by the reciprocal ties or alliance of frank-pledge, which our Saxon ancestors, and many savage nations, in some degree maintained, probably from the patriarchal times. For all men are capable of this form of government: and if it be once properly established, there is no mode of restraining and keeping in order a promiscuous body of men so cheap, so easy, or so effectual, as that of mutual government by the principles of right in equal proportioned congregations, each of which is a constituent part of a more powerful body; wherein annually elected officers maintain order; and each individual, however violent in himself, is prevented from injuring others, by having his person and property rendered answerable for all damages which he occasions, or which he does not endeavour to prevent, as a member of the tithing where the offence is committed; for, according to the law of frank-pledge, no man is entitled to liberty, who is not duly pledged by his nearest neighbour for the mutual conservation of peace and right.

"Under this form of government, all public works, as entrenchments, fortifications, canals, highways, sewers, &c. &c., may be performed by a rotation of service; in which the value of attendance must be estimated, that defaulters may bear their share, or rather a double share, of the burthen. And *watch and ward*, or military service, may be defrayed in the same manner; by which means no debt will be incurred for the defence of the state, and rich funds may be obtained for the credit of a public exchequer, without any perceivable burthen to the community, by a general agreement to punish by fines or mulcts in due proportion to the wealth and possessions of the delinquent, increasing likewise by *repetition* for all offences, as well of *omission* (or neglect of public duty) as of *commission*; except murder, rape, and unnatural crimes, which, by the laws of God, are unpardonable by any community *."

* An enlarged account of this plan is found among Mr. Sharp's papers. It was probably the foundation of all the regulations by which the colony was governed at its commencement.

In conformity with such ideas, and on the basis (it is probable) of Mr. Smeathman's design, was laid the plan of *a Free Colony at Sierra Leone*, on the coast of Africa. Mr. Smeathman was to lead the Black poor to the destined spot, as soon as due preparations could be made; and Granville, in the mean time, distributed to the intended settlers, from his own purse, a weekly allowance, which was to be continued till the time of their sailing.

Application was now made to the Minister of England for assistance. The Government had long regarded the numerous Negroes who begged in the streets as a nuisance, and therefore readily consented to lend a helping hand to the project. "A small weekly allowance," says Mr. Sharp, "was made from the Treasury, for the subsistence of the settlers, and navy transports were hired to carry them out."

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Bread Street, 12th April, 1786.

"Mr. Smeathman presents most respectful compliments to Mr. Sharp. Extreme fatigue prevents him having the honour of waiting on Mr. S., to acquaint him that he was introduced this day to Mr. Rose, and that it is settled that Government is to allow Mr. Smeathman 12*l.* for each person, for any number that are willing to go and settle with him.

"Mr. Smeathman indulges the flattering hopes that Mr. Sharp will continue his benevolent protection to this plan, so interesting to mankind."

At this important moment, Mr. Smeathman's impaired health suspended the execution of the plan. He was taken ill of a fever, and died in about three days. The expedition seemed now at a stand; and "Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset: the demurrage of the vessel had commenced, and the weekly pay to the settlers continued*." In this situation of affairs, the Government again interfered: provision was made for the settlers, both for transporting them, and for supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in

* Obituary Account.

Africa; and Captain (afterwards Admiral) Thompson was appointed to accompany them in the Nautilus sloop of war, and to see the promises given by Mr. Sharp fulfilled toward them.

At length the little fleet sailed on the 8th of April, 1787.

As the history of this colony, now so respectable as the cradle of African Civilization, is either little known, or the knowledge of it confined to a very limited number of persons, it will be necessary to give a cursory account of its establishment and progress; which, for the sake of clearness, will be continued, without interruption, to the period of its final surrender into the hands of Government.

It is, indeed, a history deserving, from its nature, of a more ample elucidation than the present narrative can with propriety admit. In a short portion of time and place, it contains an "abstract and brief chronicle" of the noblest virtues and the basest vices of mankind: it exhibits the conflict of savage ignorance with refined cultivation, of Christian purity and benevolence with some of the worst passions that tear and deform the human breast.

The first particulars here related concerning the settlement are principally extracted from the Reports of the Directors. Mr. Sharp's own accounts of his undertaking will follow.

CHAP. II.

THE Negroes who were sent out, in the manner and with the views already described, to form the colony of Sierra Leone, amounted to somewhat more than four hundred, to which number were added about sixty Europeans, chiefly women. On their arrival, a grant of land, of considerable extent, was obtained for their use from a neighbouring chief*. It was hoped that the remembrance of former distress, and the necessity of their situation, would bring the settlers into habits of order and industry, and animate them to free, productive labour.

The commencement of this enterprise was inauspicious. During a long detention of these poor people in the Channel, and during their passage to Sierra Leone, they were extremely unhealthy—in most instances, from disorders brought on board with them and aggravated by intemperance; in consequence of the delays that had occurred, they were landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon died." In

* "The district purchased for the settlement at Sierra Leone is nearly twice as large as the island of Barbadoes, being twenty miles square, containing 256,000 acres of land, well watered with salubrious springs, and situated on a fruitful peninsula, between two noble navigable rivers, the great river of Sierra Leone and the Sherbro', which receives the waters of many others. The peninsula rises into hills forming upon one another into lofty mountains, the sides and summits of which are covered with timber.

"The extraordinary temperature and salubrity of the air for European constitutions in this peculiar spot of the torrid zone, has been remarked by ancient writers and by modern travellers of respectability." [Their account, however, must be allowed to have been greatly exaggerated, as the climate has in many instances proved unhealthy.] "The river has a safe deep channel for ships of any burthen; and *St. George's Bay*, the first approach to the new settlement (and so named by Captain Thompson, who carried out the settlers, having been before called Frenchman's Bay), is perhaps the finest harbour in the world; and is of the more importance, as there is no other good harbour on the coast for many leagues either way.

"Sierra Leone is about 8 deg. 12 min. North latitude, and the longitude about 12 deg. West. It is generally about a month's sail from England, though more in returning, on account of the interruption of the trade winds."—*First Report*, 1791.

the course of the first year their numbers were reduced nearly half: many died before they reached the coast, and a greater number in a short time after their landing: some few also had deserted. The remainder, however, was still sufficient for building a small town. After the first year, no extraordinary mortality prevailed. In the two succeeding years, not more than five or six of the settlers died, out of two hundred who were in the same town. During that time they gradually improved in their circumstances; and, though far from being regularly industrious, were able to supply themselves with a sufficiency of food, and to secure a small but constantly increasing property*.

They were, however, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of all the natural advantages of the country; and being chiefly men of unsettled habits, so many migrated to the neighbouring parts, that the community was at one time in the most imminent danger of extinction.

The arrival at this critical moment of a small brig, called the *Myro*†, laden with various articles of considerable present use to the necessities of the colonists, preserved the infant colony. The distressed wanderers found in its appearance on their coast a renovation of hope; and as they had learned, by dangerous experiment, that they could not subsist so well in any other place, the greater part of them returned to the settlement.

On this occasion also, a confirmation of the original grant of land was obtained from Naimbanna, the king of Sierra Leone, who resided at the small island of Rohanna, between the English slave factory at Bance Island and the French one at Gambia‡.

* Report, 1791.

† The history of the *Myro* will be found in the account of Mr. Sharp's particular concern in the colony.

‡ The lands on which the English forts have hitherto been erected on the African coast, have generally been only rented of the Native Chiefs, whereas the new district of Sierra Leone has been actually purchased, and given up by the Native Chiefs, under a ratified charter from themselves and their heirs for ever, to the Crown of England, for the use of the settlers and their successors for ever: so that it is not only an English settlement, but an English territory, where all the free customs and rights of the English common law immediately take place.—*Report*, 1791.

But toward the end of the year 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, the settlers received a formal notice from a great council of the neighbouring Chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war*; and that he allowed them three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resource: they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time.

This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the same provident care which had sent the Myro to its aid in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection, by the establishment of a Company in England (called the St. George's Bay Company), united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent design of the Founder: and a Memorial was now addressed to his Majesty,

* "A Native Chief, living within half a mile of the English settlement, had lost, as he affirmed, two individuals of his town, by the depredations of an American slave-captain, and had been some time waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on any vessel from the same country that might come within his reach. The opportunity, after a while, occurred. A boat, which was found to belong to an American ship, happening to pass up the river, was attacked and plundered by him and his people: the crew, consisting of three or four men, were put to death, one only excepted, who escaped, and conveyed the news to the neighbouring slave-factory, to which the boat had been going. The principal agent of the factory, after some consultation with the officers of a man of war then lying in the river, determined on becoming the avenger of the outrage. Ineffectual attempts were first made to induce the Chief to come on board the frigate: and after an interval of two or three days, the slave-factor himself, together with a lieutenant from the King's ship, and a body of British sailors and marines, set out on an expedition to the town of the Chief. On the approach of this armed body of men, the Chief and his people fled, and the town was plundered and set on fire. The slave-factor, however, and the party with him from the King's ship, returning in the dusk of the evening, were suddenly attacked by a discharge of musketry from among the bushes, and an engagement ensued, in which several were killed on both sides. The Chief used afterwards frequently to vow that he must now retaliate again for the further loss of people that he had sustained. The slave-factor, however, against whom his rage was principally directed, soon afterwards quitted the coast.

"A palaver, or council, was then called of all the surrounding Chiefs, who (according to the African custom of directing vengeance against every person, guilty or not guilty, whom they have in their power, and imagine in any degree connected with the authors of the injury received), having heard that two of the free settlers were among the hostile party, determined that their whole town should be burned."—*Report*, 1793.

praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his Royal Charter of Incorporation. The objects announced by the Company were, "to colonize a small part of the coast of Africa, to introduce "civilization among the Natives, and to cultivate the soil by means of "free labour; at the same time abjuring all concerns whatever in "the odious traffic of human bodies, and binding itself neither to deal "in slaves, nor to allow of any slave trade in the territory; to maintain "peace, unless attacked; to punish crimes; to govern all equally "according to the laws of England; to open schools for reading, "writing, and accounts; and to receive and instruct the children of "the Natives, if sent to the schools."

For the prosecution of those views, during the expectation of the Charter, it was recommended that the Company should send out proper factors and agents to St. George's Bay, the principal harbour of the New Territory, in order to the carrying on a trade in British manufactures with the neighbouring Natives. Accordingly, in September 1790, the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford a temporary relief to the distress that had ensued, until the grant of the Charter should enable the Directors to take more effective and permanent measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers; and collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, brought them to a new settlement above Fora Bay, about two miles farther than the former from the town of the chief who had invaded them; where they took possession of some deserted houses, and about four acres of land were cleared and planted with yams and casada, and sown with English seeds. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries; and he reported them, at his departure from the coast, as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four.

The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of *Granville* Town, in honour of their original protector and friend.

The affairs of the Company, therefore, now began to assume a more promising aspect. Reports from various quarters confirmed the favourable accounts which had at first been given of Sierra Leone*; and, the Charter of Incorporation being at length obtained†, a considerable capital was raised for carrying on the trade of the settlement. The Directors, persuaded that the effective utility, and even the security, of the establishment of which they had undertaken the care, would in a great measure depend on an increase in the number of settlers, prepared measures for that purpose; when an opportunity offered, which appeared to meet their wishes, of strengthening the colony by an additional body of free Negroes acquainted with the English language and accustomed to the labour of hot climates.

A Negro, of the name of Peters, arrived in England from Nova Scotia, as a delegate from many of his countrymen. These men, during the American war, had been induced to enlist in the British army by the King's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the Royal standard; and when the war was terminated, they were carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land;

* "Mr. Falconbridge has collected several specimens of Native produce, particularly of woods, iron ore, gum copal, pepper, rice, cotton, and sugar-cane, which afford the most favourable hopes to the Company."

"All the most valuable productions of the tropical climates seem to grow spontaneously at Sierra Leone; and nothing but attention and cultivation appear wanting, in order to produce them of every kind and in sufficient quantities to become articles of trade, and even of great national concern."

"Besides the prospect of trading to Sierra Leone for the immediate productions of that country, it appears also, that a coast and river trade, and through the rivers an important inland trade, may easily be established by means of small vessels calculated for that purpose. The coast of Africa neighbouring to Sierra Leone is more intersected with rivers navigable for small craft than any other portion of it whatsoever."—*Report*, 1791.

† After various pressing applications to Government, the Charter was granted in 1791, and the "*Sierra Leone Company*" established at the end of the Session of Parliament, in which Mr. Wilberforce's first motion on the subject of the Slave Trade was lost.

which promise, however, had unfortunately not been fulfilled: and the climate of Nova Scotia being unfavourable to them, they, to the number (as stated by Peters) of three or four hundred, were now desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra Leone.

The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of their passage; and being favourably answered, availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of his Majesty's navy *, to bring the new colonists over to Sierra Leone; strictly stipulating, however, the terms of their admission in conformity to the original design of the settlement, and allowing the reception of such only as could produce certificates of their good conduct and morals. Each settler was to receive a lot of land of twenty acres. Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on the 19th August 1791, and, on his arrival at Nova Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of Black People who were desirous to embark for Sierra Leone far exceeded the account given by their delegate: no less than eleven hundred and ninety-six were brought on board.

It was obvious that the accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement. Their numerous wants would demand instant supply; and the Directors, therefore, turned their utmost attention to that point—bringing forward, also, a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital at home, which was much increased by new subscriptions, after the intended junction of the Nova Scotia loyalists had been made public.

The first vessel sent out by the Company from England reached Sierra Leone in February 1792, and was soon followed by two others; carrying out, in all, rather more than one hundred Europeans: of whom above forty were Company's servants or artificers, at a yearly salary; ten were settlers; sixteen were soldiers; and between thirty and forty were women and children.

In the succeeding month, the Nova Scotia fleet arrived, consisting

* A brother of the zealous Historian of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

of sixteen vessels, from which were landed 1131 Blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, first contracted in Halifax, and of which sixty-five had died during the passage. Lieutenant Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark on board the hospital ship, had narrowly escaped with his life from a violent attack of the same disorder.

On his arrival at Sierra Leone, he found a commission appointing him Superintendant of the Colony—a situation which with some hesitation he accepted. His first care, after providing a temporary shelter for the new settlers, was to give security to the public exercise of religion; for which purpose having fitted up a house (of which the frame-work had been brought from England), a sermon was delivered on the first Sunday after his arrival, by a Clergyman appointed by the Directors*.

The site on which the first Blacks sent out from England had originally settled, and from which they had been afterwards expelled by the hostility of the neighbouring chiefs, was fixed upon as the most proper spot for the new settlement. The land (now overgrown again with underwood) was cleared in the course of a few weeks by the labour of the Nova Scotians, whose progress was discernible along the shore, and in an open road which favoured their approach to the mountains.

King Naimbanna was next invited to visit the colony; and he came, attended by his vassal Jammy, the chief whose threats had preceded the expulsion of the settlers, and who now raised a question on their right to the land. A palaver was demanded, in which the cause was argued on both sides; but the original grant, signed by Jammy himself, being produced by Lieutenant Clarkson, with the addition of presents of considerable value to the chiefs, the decision was in favour of the settlers.

The Nova Scotians then proceeded to construct the requisite buildings, though with less speed than considering the near approach

* The Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert.

of the rainy season, might have been wished. The several streets having been marked out by the surveyor, they began, each one for himself, to erect small temporary huts, using the common materials of the country, except that the flooring was furnished, in some cases, from England. A public wharf and warehouse were likewise begun; and the rising town was named Freetown, in consequence of instructions from the Directors to that purpose.

In England, meanwhile, in order to assist the new settlers in providing against the distresses to which they might be exposed during the rains, for want of sufficient shelter, another ship, the York, of 850 tons, was purchased and fitted out, and loaded, not only with various stores, but with frames of houses, and all materials for building. It was intended, that, besides carrying out a large cargo, she should serve as a receptacle for those who were yet unprovided with houses, as well as an hospital for the sick; and should be afterwards converted to a storehouse for the Company.

This vessel was unfortunately driven back by a storm after leaving the English coast, and did not arrive at the colony till after great delays. She proved, however, of considerable use afterwards, both as a storehouse and a floating factory, as well as in facilitating the loading and unloading of other vessels; and she became for some time the residence of many of the Company's servants.*

* Reports, 1792 and 1794.

CHAP. III.

THE precautions that had been taken, and the liberal supplies that had been sent out from England, proved alike ineffectual to prevent a considerable mortality among the new colonists when the rainy period arrived: they experienced from it the same distress which had been felt by the former settlers.

The rains began about the third week in May, preceded by tornados of dreadful violence. Many of the settlers' houses were not yet completed; the Company's storehouses were but imperfectly built; and their servants were ill accommodated. The soldiers also were liable, from various causes, to be much exposed; and the few European settlers who had lately arrived from England, were least of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties. The high degree of health which almost universally prevailed antecedently to the rains, by inspiring too great a confidence in the climate, had perhaps occasioned some remissness in making the requisite preparations. The building of a temporary town having necessarily engrossed the attention both of the Nova Scotians and of the Company's servants, no lots of land had yet been marked out, nor had any step worthy of being mentioned been taken with a view to commerce, although some goods for trade had been sent out by the very first ships. The necessary previous stores of fresh provisions were found to be wanting at the arrival of the rains; and the unsettled state of affairs tended to aggravate the distresses of the colony. The sickness which ensued was most severe. About eight hundred Blacks were supposed to be laid up at one time; and very few passed through the whole of this trying season without some indisposition. The disorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected the Blacks and Whites almost

indiscriminately, proved much the most fatal to the Europeans, and especially to those residing on shore, among whom the mortality was at one time so great as to excite reasonable apprehensions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking.

In the height of the sickness, all the medical persons, with but one exception, were laid up; so that very few of the sick could be properly attended, and many perished for want of the timely aid which there were no means of affording. The storekeepers, inhabiting a damp storehouse, were some of the first victims: increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery of the stores were the consequence. The doors of the storehouse were continually crowded; but neither food, nor physic and other necessaries for the sick (though these had been amply supplied by the Directors), could be properly distributed. A great depression of spirits at the same time generally prevailed, which produced a total helplessness in the case of one or two families from England, and proved one chief aggravation of the disorder.

Almost one half of the Europeans, living on shore, were carried off during this dreadful season, and nearly one-tenth of the Nova Scotians.

The colony was just emerging from the confusion and distress into which it had been thrown, when a new event, of a perplexing kind, called for the attention of the Government. A ship arrived from the isle of Bulam, having on board a great number of passengers, many of them extremely sick, who desired to be received into the colony. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had previously declined accepting proposals, to go out as colonists, made to them in England by many of the same persons who afterward went to Bulam; for they had conceived the first success of their colony materially to depend on the exclusion of all Europeans who were not in the regular pay of the Company, and entirely subject to them. They were afraid that even a few men of an improper cast, in the situation of independent settlers, might materially prejudise the undertaking, by corrupting the morals of the colony, or exciting a spirit of discontent against the Government; and, if for either of these causes they should be excluded from the settlement, that they might then be driven to

seek a livelihood by improper means among the neighbouring Natives—perhaps eventually turning slave-traders.

On these considerations it was deemed expedient to investigate very strictly the circumstances of all those who went from England; no one being permitted to join the colony who left his debts undischarged at home. In the present instance, the character of the Bulam adventurers was unknown; and their offer was therefore declined: those only who were sick were received on shore, where they were furnished with a few necessaries, and, after a time, accommodated with a vessel to carry them back to England*.

A few days also after the rains had ceased, the settlement was again disturbed by a demand from the Natives for a palaver, which was accordingly held the next day. At this meeting, King Jammy renewed his former pretensions respecting the purchase of the land; but was over-ruled by Naimbanna. He then disclosed his apprehensions, from the great progress of the settlers, that they meant to take possession of the whole neighbouring cape; and he proposed an exchange of a part of their possessions for other land lying more inward. He was fully answered by the Governor; and the palaver closed, as before, without laying any restraint on the settlers.

The rains had ceased about the 9th of October, and a second tornado season commenced, accompanied by incredible swarms of ants. The Nova Scotians, notwithstanding, resumed their labours, and towards the end of October two meeting-houses were finished, and a school for the children of the settlement.

As soon as the general sickness began to abate, the chief object of the Government's attention was the distribution of the promised lots of land; a work more arduous than had been expected. It was found to be in the highest degree inexpedient to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; as so large an allotment would necessarily throw many of the settlers to an inconvenient distance from the town and river; besides that the very labour of cutting the

* Report, 1794.

necessary paths, and of measuring so large a tract of country, would have been too great to have been easily accomplished in a single season.

The Nova Scotians were so sensible of these objections, and so unwilling to be removed to a distance from the town (as well as to pay a quit-rent for a greater portion of land than they could use), that they preferred accepting smaller lots of four acres in the first instance, the right being reserved to them of claiming the remainder as it should be wanted *.

Of these smaller lots they showed the utmost eagerness to obtain possession, and no time was lost in commencing the location of them †. Some spirited attempts were made even before the rains had entirely ceased, but were checked by repeated sickness; and so great was the labour of measuring out the ground, that although a large party of men was employed, and constant exertions were made, a considerable portion of the dry season was necessarily consumed before the survey of the lots could be completed. The distribution of them continued, at several periods, from November to March, and the whole of this first allotment was completed in time for the crop of 1793.

It was remarkable, however, that, having once got possession of their lots, very few of the settlers exerted themselves in cultivating them, till compelled by actual necessity; the greater number preferring to live in the town as long as they could earn a subsistence there by labouring at daily wages for the Company.

Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, as the dry season advanced, the colony displayed many symptoms of improvement. A garden of experiment was established, under the care of an eminent botanist (Dr. Afzelius); and two plantations likewise were begun, on the Company's account, as an example of cultivation to others; one near

* This farther claim was never made by any of the settlers, although the right was strictly preserved to them by the Company, and afterwards fully recognized by the Crown.

† The Company was not less interested than the settlers in the speedy accomplishment of this object, each colonist either continuing to draw from the public stores a gratuitous allowance of provisions until his lot was given to him, or being employed in working for hire under the Company, when perhaps there was little occasion for his services.

Freetown which was soon relinquished, and the other on the opposite side of the river; both worked by free labourers.

In the mean time, several useful regulations had been made at home for the future government of the colony, and two gentlemen of considerable experience had been sent to Sierra Leone as Members of Council—the one accustomed to a new colony, and the other to tropical climates. Journals of all transactions, and minutes of council, began to be regularly kept, copies of which were sent to England from time to time: periodical reports were made by each principal servant of the Company of the state and progress of his own particular department; regular indents were sent home of all the European articles required for trade or colonial consumption; a more correct mode of correspondence was settled; and the original instructions of the Court were at length fully answered *.

Lieutenant Clarkson had quitted Sierra Leone at the end of 1792, after a residence in the colony of nearly ten months, when Mr. Dawes succeeded him as Governor.

* Report, 1794.

CHAP. IV.

ABOUT the same period when the improvement just mentioned took place in respect to the intelligence sent to England, the internal order of the colony also was materially improved. More systematic measures were adopted for the maintenance of the police and the administration of justice. Pains were taken to arrange the Company's accounts; and greater regularity was introduced into the conduct of the different departments. The town having been laid out with great care, in a rectangular form, and spacious town lots having been assigned to each settler, their huts were replaced by larger and more commodious houses; the public works also gradually advanced; and the Natives, who continued perfectly friendly, and often flocked to the settlement, appeared to view the improving state of Sierra Leone with satisfaction*.

The site of Freetown was unquestionably the best that could be found in that vicinity, for the salubrity of its air, the goodness of the water, and the excellence of the harbour; which could hardly fail to make it the chief resort of commerce, *whenever the Slave Trade should cease*. Considerable labour and expense were bestowed in improving the landing-place; and a large number of the Novia-Scotia Blacks were also employed in erecting a church, hospital, warehouses, and dwelling-houses for the Company's officers (of which the frames had been sent from England), and in the execution of some slight measures of defence with a view to the safety of the colony—among which, however, it was not yet thought necessary to include a regular fort.

During the course of the dry season, an expedition to some of the

* Report, 1794.

neighbouring parts was undertaken with success, the object being to conciliate the friendship of the Native Chiefs towards the colony; and all the information which was obtained thus concurred to demonstrate the practicability of introducing trade and civilization into Africa, if not obstructed by the influence of the Slave Trade. But there still existed much discontent among the Settlers. They continued averse to making the exertions necessary for bringing their lands into cultivation, and were ready to entertain every idle rumour to the prejudice of the Governor, who was naturally anxious for the commencement of their labours, and for the relief of the Company from the ruinous expense of maintaining them. War breaking out at the same time against France, and bringing with it very material impediments to the progress of the colony, their discontents grew at length to such a height that it was deemed expedient to propose to them to send two delegates from their whole body to England, to represent their complaints. This proposal was accepted, and harmony was for a time restored.

Every thing now promised favourably. Trade was extending. Cultivation advanced, though slowly. The health of the colony greatly improved. The rainy season of 1793 was attended with complaints of a less formidable description than had before been experienced. The settlers seemed to be inured to the climate, and their children felt no bad effects from it. Just hopes also were entertained of improving morals. The schools which had been opened were very regularly attended by the children of the Settlers and Natives, to the number of three hundred.

Towards the close of the year, preparations were making for sending to England a cargo of African produce, which had been collected by the Company's vessels along the coast, and which was deposited, together with the merchandize intended for trade, on board the York store-ship. This vessel unfortunately caught fire. Alarm was instantly given, and every attempt was made to preserve the property, but in vain. Neither the Natives nor the Settlers could be induced to lend their assistance in extinguishing the flames, from an

apprehension that there were large stores of gunpowder on board; and the vessel, together with all that was deposited in it, valued at 15,000*l.* was entirely consumed.

This calamity, severe as it was, did not damp the hopes or the efforts of the Directors; and they closed their Report of March 1794, by referring to the progress of cultivation in their colony, and the opening prospects of civilization; stating, that though their labour and anxiety had been great, yet these had been amply compensated by reflection on the magnitude of that cause in which they found themselves engaged, and by the continually improving appearance of their being able, by the blessing of Providence, to lay some foundation for the future happiness of a continent which had hitherto experienced so much misery from its intercourse with Europeans.

Early in 1794, an expedition was made to the interior by two of the Company's servants, who travelled three hundred miles, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom *. They were attended, on their return, by a deputation of Chiefs from the King of that country, for the purpose of opening a trading communication with the Company. Hopes were also entertained, that, as the breaking out of the war had caused an interruption of the demand for slaves on the coast, and several of the African chiefs had thereby been induced to employ their unsold slaves in cultivating the soil, they might be led to enlarge their plans of cultivation.

In the mean time, the two delegates, chosen by the body of Nova Scotians to represent their complaints to the Directors, being arrived in England, presented a petition, couched in very strong terms, holding forth, as their principal grievances, the high price of goods at the Company's warehouses, the inadequacy of the wages paid to them for labour, the disappointment of some promises made to them by Lieutenant Clarkson, who had been governor in 1792, and some trifling

* The town of Teembo has about eight thousand inhabitants, and another town near to it contains upwards of four thousand. The people of that part proved to be far more civilized than those on the coast.

charges of misconduct on the part of the Governor (Mr. Dawes) who succeeded him.

The Directors, after the most minute attention to the subject, judged the representations of the petitioners to be wholly founded on mistake and misinformation. The delegates at first received this decision with extreme dissatisfaction, but, having staid about two months longer in England, quitted it apparently well disposed to the Company.

Their return did not tend to promote the peace of the settlement, or to abate the turbulent and refractory spirit of a considerable portion of their countrymen. The jealousy and suspicion of the Company's European servants appeared to increase among the disaffected party, until at length an insurrection broke out, which menaced the life of the Governor and the safety of the colony, but which was happily suppressed without bloodshed. Six of the insurgents, who were considered as the ringleaders, were removed from the colony, and an amnesty granted to the rest. The effect of these examples was salutary. The commotion was succeeded by a season of quiet among the settlers, and by a more ready submission on their part to the authority of the laws.

But the perils of the humane undertaking were not long suspended. An unexpected and far greater calamity than any that had preceded, threatened to destroy at once the prospects of philanthropy in Africa. As its history is that of an outrage almost without a parallel in the records of civilized ages, it will be here given with little abridgment from the original detail.

On the 27th September, 1794, late in the evening, the colony was alarmed by the firing of two heavy guns at sea, and at day-break on the 28th seven or eight sail were counted, with the English flag distinguishable in all of them. The fleet was soon found to consist of one two-decker, several large armed ships, and two armed brigs. It was agreed, that if they should prove enemies, resistance to such superior force would be an idle waste of lives, and might render the terms of capitulation less favourable. In about half an hour, some

men in one of the frigates were seen pointing a gun on the Governor's house, and in a few minutes the shot began to fly over the town.

The colours were immediately struck, and a flag of truce was held out; but the firing still continued, and a Black child was killed, and two Black settlers were severely wounded.

The ships, which proved to be French, were now hailed; and, being assured that the colony had surrendered, desisted from firing. Soon after, the crew began to land, and a servant of the Company was sent to invite the commanding officer to the Governor's house. He found a number of French soldiers already entered into the great store and two other principal houses, which they were pillaging.

The French Commodore was too much occupied to attend to the invitation. But one Newell, an American slave-captain, who had before had a dispute with the Governor, and who had piloted the French vessels into the river, came, attended by half a dozen Frenchmen, and, almost foaming with rage, presented a pistol to him, and, with many oaths, demanded instant satisfaction. The Governor replied, that "since he was no longer master of his own actions, the slave-captain must now take such satisfaction as he judged equitable." Newell then became so outrageous, that the Governor thought it prudent to request from the French officer a guard for his house, and a safe conduct on board the Commodore's ship; where, as soon as he met the commander, he expressed his surprise at the proceedings which had taken place, observing, that he had hoped to find in Frenchmen a generous enemy, but that the colony had been dealt with in a manner which he believed unusual, except in places taken by storm.—"*Have you removed any property?*" was the answer.—The Governor replied that he had not.—"*Be careful* of what you say to me; for if I should find after this that you have removed any thing, I shall make *you* suffer, and there shall not be a hut left in the place." —The Governor repeated his assurance, and the Commodore then gave him a promise that the pillage should be stopped; declaring, however, in the same breath, that, if the seamen and soldiers were disposed to plunder, he could not prevent them; and adding, that "it

was his intention to burn every house in the place belonging to Englishmen."

On hearing this, the Governor used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, pleading the *nature of the establishment*, as likely to interest his feelings; but all appeals in behalf of the colony proved ineffectual, the constant reply being, "*Citoyen, cela peut bien être, mais encore vous êtes Anglois!*" The case of the *Black settlers* was then represented, who, though not Englishmen, were sharing the fate of the English, their houses being all broken into. The Commodore made strong protestations of his friendly intentions towards the Negroes, and gave a solemn assurance that their houses should be saved from fire, but hinted, as before, the impossibility of restraining the soldiery. A demand for several articles was next urged by the Governor, on the ground of their being necessary to keep the people alive—such as apparel, provisions, medicines, &c. &c.—all which he was induced to hope at the time would be allowed. A proposal to ransom the place was made in vain.

The scene which Freetown now exhibited, was, in every respect, distressing. All the houses were filled with Frenchmen, who destroyed whatever they found in them which they could not convert to their own use; while several other parties were scouring the town in quest of live stock, of which the destruction on this and the following day was extremely great. The books of the Company's library were scattered about and defaced; and if they bore any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. The dwelling-house of the botanist was pillaged, and his collections destroyed: in the accountant's office, all was demolished, in the search for money: the copying and printing-presses also were destroyed: all the telescopes, barometers, and thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces. A sentinel, who had been set to guard the Governor's apartment, served only to retard the pillage of it.

On the next day, a few clothes, books, and papers, saved from the general wreck, were, by the assistance of the Commodore, sent into the country; but the greater part of them was again

taken away by gangs of pillagers, who beset every avenue to the town.

On the day when the French appeared, all the Company's servants had fled into the woods or to the neighbouring towns, except ten or twelve, who were collected in the Governor's house, where several French sailors now quartered themselves, and were tolerably civil. It became, however, every hour more and more unpleasant to remain in Freetown, as the soldiery were giving themselves up to every species of excess: the greater part, therefore, of those in the Governor's house, dispersed themselves, in the course of this and the succeeding day, either in the Native towns, or the farm-houses of the settlers; a few took refuge in the Danish, or Deserter's, town upon the mountains*, where they were kindly treated. The Native children placed at Freetown for education, were received, together with their schoolmistress, in a native town about two miles distant, the headmen of which very resolutely refused to permit a party of Frenchmen, who had straggled thither, to enter it. The Governor, being unwilling to absent himself while there was a prospect of effecting any thing in behalf of the people, applied for leave to remain on board the Commodore's vessel, where he was permitted to lie in the cabin, but without being able to obtain so much as a sheet to throw over him.

The French soldiers now made their way, in various directions, to the *farms* of the settlers, which they plundered. The Governor, seeing one of them in the act of taking away from a settler the bed on which he used to lie, attempted to dissuade him from it, and was threatened with being instantly cut down. Four officers, however, coming up, the man was ordered to be put in irons.

On the 2d of October, several of the principal buildings in Freetown, and one or two settlers' houses, were burnt, and also one of the Company's small vessels. The church was observed this day to have

* A town built at a few miles' distance from Freetown, by some slaves who, some years ago, cut off a Danish slave-vessel lying at anchor in the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, and escaped to the mountains. Their jealousy of strangers is in general so great, that they suffer none to approach.—*Report*, 1794.

been pillaged, and the clock broken to pieces. The apothecary's shop and medicines were also destroyed. Information was at the same time received, that the slave-factory of Bance Island had been taken.

On the 3d of October, Mr. Afzelius, the botanist, made application to the Commodore for the recovery of his papers, and, after bearing much rudeness, at last obtained a part of them.

On the 4th, the Governor recapitulated the promises which had been held out, and earnestly pressed the fulfilment of them. He was answered by the Commodore in plain terms, that he should be in danger of losing his life if he were to comply with them. Such a representation of the distressed state of the colony was then made, that a small portion of provisions was at last granted.

October 6th.—On this day, the conflagration of all the buildings, which had escaped the former fire, commenced. The church, (although the Commodore had given his word that it should be saved,) a range of shops, and three of the settlers' houses near the water side, were destroyed, and also three small vessels, together with all the boats which could be found.—The French vessels, on their return from Bance Island, this day passed by Granville-town, and fired one shot into it; in consequence of which all the settlers living there fled into the woods; but there was no attempt to land.

7th and 8th October.—The Governor now fixed himself at Granville-town, from whence he occasionally visited Freetown, and renewed his applications to the Commodore for necessaries, obtaining, on one of these days, a bag of biscuits and about twenty pounds of sugar. He attempted to procure the restitution of a schooner belonging to a Native trader, which had come down to Sierra Leone, but in vain; some letters found on board, addressed to the Governor, being thought a sufficient ground for her condemnation. He succeeded, however, in the recovery of a small vessel belonging to a Mulatto trader.

On the 9th of October, the Company's largest ship, the Harpy, arrived off Cape Sierra Leone from England, having several passengers on board, and goods to the amount of about 10,000*l*. The demolition

of the Company's houses having been discovered, she put out again to sea, and appeared, for a time, to gain on the vessel which was sent in chase of her; but the wind dying away, she was overtaken, and immediately struck. No part of the cargo of this ship was landed in the colony; nor would the Commodore suffer the dispatches, letters, and papers, brought by her, to be delivered, a few newspapers excepted. The English passengers, among whom was the Company's Chaplain, were plundered of their property; and three Natives, who had been on a voyage to England, were stripped even of the little presents which they were carrying back with them. A plant-hatch also, sent out by the Harpy, containing many valuable articles of tropical cultivation from his Majesty's collection at Kew, which were thought likely to thrive in Africa (and particularly the bread-fruit tree, and the tea plant), was destroyed, with all its contents, though the most earnest application was made for the delivery of it.

On the 11th, the Governor heard that it was the intention of the Commodore, who was supposed to be on the eve of sailing, to send on shore all the European sailors who had been found on board the captured ships (amounting in all to near one hundred and twenty); and as he was left wholly without means of providing for them, he made a very strong remonstrance on the subject. No answer was returned either on this or the succeeding day.

On the 13th, several French officers brought the Governor about two or three weeks' supply of provisions for the Europeans in the colony. The Governor repaired immediately to the Commodore's ship, in order to thank him for the gift, as well as to urge his compliance with several other demands. The Commodore paid no attention to his solicitation, but set sail on the same day to the southward, with all his fleet, to which the Harpy was now added *.

The succeeding distress caused by this barbarian invasion † is more

* Report, 1795.

† The Report very liberally admits a doubt whether the attack on Sierra Leone was at all sanctioned by the *Government* then existing in France.

easily to be conceived than described. In the space of three weeks an almost universal sickness prevailed among the Europeans of the settlement; the consequence in some cases of the exertions made, and in others of the miseries endured, on the occasion. The difficulty of procuring medical aid (the physician and two surgeons being among the sick), together with the want of proper accommodation of every kind, grievously aggravated the disorder which prevailed, and which, as in the first rainy season, was fatal almost exclusively to the lower class of Europeans. The destruction of the medicines of the colony was now severely felt.

A few weeks after the departure of the French squadron, intelligence was received of its having captured two of the Company's small trading vessels, on their passage down the coast. The crews of these vessels were immediately put on shore, as well as other European sailors who had navigated some slave-ships which had likewise been captured. As many of these as were able made their way to Sierra Leone, and their numbers increased the general distress*.

* An extract, found among Mr. Sharp's papers, from a letter from Mr. Afzelius to the Swedish Ambassador in London, gives a lively confirmation of the detail here related. It will be inserted in the Appendix.

CHAP. V.

THE pecuniary loss sustained by the Company, from the unwarrantable act of depredation committed on the defenceless colony, was computed at 40,000*l.*, exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which had cost about 15,000*l.* more.

The misfortune was met with firmness by the Directors, and two small vessels were instantly dispatched to the succour of the settlement, carrying out an assortment of necessaries for its consumption. The event, disastrous as it was, had yet thrown some light of a cheering nature on the state of the colony. It had given reason to hope that the internal resources of the territory were of a substantial kind, as, during several weeks that the colony was destitute of every European article of support, no want had been felt of the primary necessaries of subsistence, nor were the settlers deterred from resuming the prosecution of their work.

But it began also now to be manifest, that without a stronger and more protecting European Government the salutary purposes of the establishment were not likely to be answered. The benevolent founder of the colony himself yielded to a conviction of the vain attempt of forbearance from the erection of forts, and other ordinary methods of security.

In *the internal order* also of the colony, some advantages had been gained by the afflictions which had befallen it. The Nova-Scotia Blacks, who had hitherto been turbulent in their general conduct, and in whose minds every restraint, which a regular police renders necessary, was connected with the state of slavery from which they had so lately escaped, now became more orderly and respectful toward the Government. The terror inspired by the invaders had shown them their real interests. Some of them made voluntary offers of service for

erecting proper works for future defence, while others, who had hitherto refused to occupy any lands but those immediately adjoining the coast, now willingly retired farther into the country, and undertook the cultivation of the numerous farm-lots which had lain wholly neglected. Many also placed themselves as apprentices under English masters and artificers, and several built boats for themselves, and began to barter the produce of their farms with the neighbouring chiefs of the country.

When they next proceeded, as usual, to their annual elections of officers among themselves, their elections were perceived to fall on men of the most exemplary and proper characters. On the whole, their minds seemed to be more favourably disposed; the state of morals began to improve; and their children, who were placed in the schools of the colony, advanced rapidly in their learning.

The greatest efforts, indeed, were made by the Directors for the improvement of the schools of the colony, as well as for the extension of Christian knowledge in Africa. Provision was made for the regular performance of the service of the Church, and additional teachers were sent out for the instruction of the youth of both sexes.

A term of four years, which succeeded the French invasion, may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony, prior to its transfer to the Crown.

Early in the year 1795, a factory was successfully established on the Rio Pongas, about twelve miles from its mouth, adjoining to the Foulah country. Great opposition was experienced from the neighbouring slave-dealers; but the settlement was protected against them by the Native Chiefs, who appeared to approve the views of the Company.

The favourable reception of the Company's servants in the capital of the Foulah kingdom, in the preceding year, encouraged a few English families, acquainted with agriculture and with European arts, and zealous for the propagation of Christianity, to attempt the establishment of a Mission in that quarter; and their enterprize being conceived likely to be productive of general advantage to the colony, a

free passage was granted to the adventurers in one of the Company's ships *.

The rains of this year were less heavy than in the former years, and the colony was comparatively healthy.

In the spring of the year 1796, Mr. Macaulay, who had assisted in the administration of the colony since the end of 1792, and for a part of that time had acted as Governor, returned to Sierra Leone, after a short absence in England, accompanied by several new officers in the Company's service, and, on the resignation of Mr. Dawes, succeeded to the chief command.

The settlement now exhibited appearances highly gratifying to the hearts of good men interested in the welfare of their fellow-creatures †. But the calm, which the remembrance of danger had produced, was not of long duration. He who desires wholly to abjure the maxim of the French philosopher, "*Qui fait un bienfait, fait un ingrat*," must not read the history of the newly protected Settlers at Sierra Leone.

Notwithstanding the general appearance of ameliorated conduct in the Nova Scotians, discontents, greater or less according to

* The Missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, but were deterred from proceeding by a nearer view of the difficulties which were to be surmounted.

† The actual state of the settlement at this time may be distinctly seen in the Reports of the Directors. "Freetown and Granville-town are divided into tithings, or districts of ten families; and the heads of each choose annually a tithingman, and for each ten tithingmen a hundreder. The persons so chosen are sworn to assist in keeping the peace; the tithingmen act as constables, and the hundreders as head-constables. All regulations adopted by the Governor and Council are laid before the hundreder and tithingmen; and, on their acquiescence, are declared to have the force of law." "Several servants of the Company act as justices; and a court of session is held every three months, at which offences and suits for debt are tried by a jury, before two or three justices."

"Two marshals are appointed—one for Granville-town, the other for Freetown—who summon juries, execute warrants against offenders and writs for debt, levy fines, and execute the sentences of the court. The hundreder and tithingmen are bound to assist them, if required.

"Laws respecting adultery and slander, and for fixing the price of meat and bread, have been enacted; but, in general, the principles of the English law have been found sufficient—though the punishments in criminal cases have been less severe, consisting of corporal chastisement, fines, imprisonment, hard labour, and banishment."

"Buying or selling slaves is considered as a crime, and always punished, when proved."

Report, 1796.

circumstances, had never wholly ceased among an idle and worthless portion of that body of men. A considerable number of them objected to the payment of any quit-rent for their lands, as stipulated in their respective grants, and, for the redress of this supposed grievance, seemed inclined to proceed to acts of violence; but the mischief of their designs was prevented by the timely exertions of the Governor. The refractory Settlers, nevertheless, resolved on rejecting the grants, which required a quit-rent, and on holding the lands, which they occupied, without the formality of a title-deed.

The administration of the colony, in spite of these unpleasant disputes, proceeded with tolerable regularity, and the improvement of the settlement continued to be progressive. In 1798, Freetown contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharfs had been erected. The Government-house was completed, on an eminence that commanded the town and the harbour, and was protected by a palisade and six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about twelve hundred, the heads of families being about three hundred. Of these, about one half were supported by their farms, many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations of retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. &c.

The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring Natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the Settlers, for the sake of exchanging African produce for British manufactures. Some came in canoes from a distance of eighty or a hundred miles.

Mr. Macaulay, on finally quitting the colony in March 1799, brought with him twenty-one African boys, and four girls, selected from the schools at Sierra Leone, for further education in England. Many of the boys were sons of the Native Chiefs, whom it might be desirable, after their education in this country, to place in such situations as might best lead to the promotion of the great ends of the settlement. In consequence of these children being brought to England was formed the *Society for the Education of Africans**.

* Report, 1801.

Mr. Ludlam, who succeeded as Governor, soon found that he wa called to a situation of the most difficult kind. Some individuals among the hundreders and tithingmen had ventured, on several occasions, to assert a right of legislating for the colony on an equal footing with the Governor, (who, they contended, being but an individual, ought to have only an individual suffrage), and even to deny that they owed any subjection to the laws of England, or to any laws except of their own making; insisting likewise on the right of being judged by judges appointed exclusively by themselves. The spirit of insubordination increased during the course of the year 1799; and the disaffected hundreders and tithingmen, discovering that the Company was not invested with adequate legal powers to enforce its authority, were at length emboldened to assert a right to the entire sovereignty of the colony, and to the disposal of the Company's lands; as well as a right either to expel all Europeans from the territory, or to demand a payment for their residence in it; to shut up the court in which justice had been administered, and to prevent its administration in future by any but men nominated by themselves.

The Company now felt, more strongly than ever, the want of an efficient force in the government. They plainly saw, that the unwarranted pretensions of the settlers, their misguided views, their ignorance of the most important principles of justice, the crude notions which they had formed of their own rights, their excessive jealousy of Europeans, their growing disregard of moral obligations, and the impetuosity of their tempers, would produce, if longer unrestrained, the most ruinous effects. The whole prospect of permanent benefit to Africa, from the increasing knowledge and improving morals of the rising generation, seemed entirely to depend on the establishment of a firm and regular government, and the impartial and uninterrupted administration of justice.

Influenced by these motives, the Directors made application to his Majesty for a Charter, which should convey to the Company a clear and well-grounded authority to maintain the peace of the colony, and to execute the laws. This application was made in 1799; and in

1800 a Charter was granted, which created the settlement an independent colony, and authorised the Directors to make laws not repugnant to those in England, and to appoint a Governor and Council, with a similar power to make laws, but subject to the revision of the Court of Directors. It also placed the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Governor and Council; but appointed a Mayor's Court for the determination of civil suits, and a Court of Requests for the recovery of small debts. It gave, both in civil and criminal cases, the right of trial by jury.

An authenticated copy of this Charter was soon transmitted to Sierra Leone by one of his Majesty's ships. Directions were also sent for detaching a small force of fifty men from the corps which had been ordered to garrison the fort of Goree, and for stationing them at Sierra Leone. The Governor of Goree was also ordered to assist the colony to the utmost of his power in any exigency.

While the Directors were taking effectual measures at home for strengthening the government of the colony, its internal affairs were daily assuming a more alarming aspect. Many circumstances conduced to show that the disaffected Nova Scotians had laid a design for the complete overthrow of the Company's authority; but, willing to try their strength before they proceeded to the execution of their scheme, they contented themselves for a time with exciting unreasonable and vexatious claims among the Natives, with a view to harass the Government, and to deprive it of the friendship of the neighbouring people.

The objects which they still held forth as their right, were the framing of laws and the appointment of judges; and, finding the Governor and Council firm in their refusal to concede such a right, they proceeded to form a numerous association for the support of their pretensions. In one of their meetings, it was proposed to put all the Europeans into an open boat, without sails, or even a compass, and to turn them adrift. The associators increased gradually in numbers, through the great exertions of the disaffected hundreders and tithingmen; and, at the moment when their rebellion actually burst forth, (which was

in September, 1800), nearly half the heads of families in the colony had joined them.

The Governor and Council, in the mean time, though under no doubt of the dangerous designs which were forming, were careful to avoid the necessity of having recourse to violence, being fully aware of their inadequate means of coercion, and hoping that they might be able, by forbearance, to ward off an open rupture, until the arrival of the Charter, and of the military force which had been ordered to protect them.

But as it was well known among the malecontents, that both these instruments of security were expected, it became equally their interest to hasten the execution of their project, and, conceiving their strength to be now adequate to the attempt, they, on the 10th September, 1800, published a handbill, giving notice, "That the new constitution of Sierra Leone was to have effect from the 25th instant, and that henceforward all applications for justice were to be made to three of the hundreders, whose names were stated." Accordingly, on the 25th a paper was stuck up in the most public part of Freetown, professing to be *the law* whereby Sierra Leone was thenceforth to be governed, as approved of by the hundreders and tithingmen.

The Governor and Council now perceived, with sorrow, that the crisis which they had wished to avoid was arrived; and having ascertained the general disposition of the remaining Settlers who were well affected to them, and being assured of their support, they determined on taking the most vigorous measures for the restoration of order. Warrants were issued for apprehending the hundreders whose names were signed to the proclamation, and, after a violent conflict, in which, however, no lives were lost, two of them were taken into custody.

The next morning, intelligence was received that fifty of the insurgents, having chosen a leader, had taken post at the nearest bridge on the road to Granville-town, and cut off the communication between Freetown and the country on that side. To this number they were likely to receive a daily addition; while the number of loyal settlers who chose to arm in defence of themselves and the

Government, amounted only to thirty, besides about twelve Europeans, and between forty and fifty Natives from that part of the coast to leeward of Sierra Leone, called the *Crou* coast, who were employed at the time in navigating the Company's vessels, and who seemed disposed cordially to unite in supporting their employers.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th of September, were consumed by the Governor in unavailing endeavours, by suitable notices, to reclaim the body of insurgents. They treated every offer of accommodation with insolence; and they even threatened to attack the palisade defending the Government-house, and to give no quarter. The Governor conducted himself throughout the whole of this emergency with great presence of mind, firmness, and moderation. He would not have thought it prudent to risk an attack in the first instance, as a defeat would probably have ended in the destruction of his whole party, had he not received information that a considerable body of the neighbouring Natives, allured by the hopes of a valuable booty, were collecting with a design to join the insurgents: as these were already more numerous than the loyal settlers, such an accession of force would have rendered the contest of a still more arduous nature, as well as more dubious in its issue; and therefore finding, on the 30th, that his adherents were eager to engage, he resolved on making an attack on the following day.

At this critical moment, a most providential occurrence suspended his operations, and completely changed the face of affairs. A large ship appeared in the river, which proved to be the Asia transport, having on board about five hundred and fifty Maroons (including women and children), from Nova Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers, under the command of Lieutenants Smith and Tolley, of his Majesty's twenty-fourth regiment*.

* The Maroons were descended from some Africans, of the Coromantine nation, who were carried off as slaves to Jamaica, and, having fled from their masters, lived in the mountainous parts of that island. A part of them, having risen in arms against the colonists, carried on for some time a destructive warfare; but having been induced by the terror of blood-hounds to surrender, were removed to Nova Scotia; but their reiterated complaints of the coldness of the

On the next day (October 1) Lieutenant Smith came to make a tender of assistance to the Governor and Council, assuring them of his zealous co-operation in reducing the insurgents to obedience. The Maroons, also, made a cheerful offer of their services. In the hope of preventing the effusion of blood, and of bringing back the deluded settlers to a sense of their duty, offers of accommodation were now again made to them, which they treated with contempt, obstinately maintaining their hostile position. It was still necessary, therefore, to proceed to active measures; and on the 2d of October, a party of Maroons, headed by Lieutenant Sheriff, of the royal navy, attacked the insurgents, and routed them at the first onset. Of the Maroons, none were either killed or wounded; but two of the insurgents were left dead on the spot, and several were wounded. From this time, resistance was at an end, and the majority either delivered themselves up, or were taken by the parties which went in quest of them. About thirty-five were brought in prisoners; and from these, three, who had been previously guilty of various felonies in the colony, and among whom was the leader of the insurrection, were selected for capital trial at the first court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, held under the new Charter.

climate, and the heavy expenses of maintaining them there, at length determined our Government to convey them thence to some more genial climate.

Africa having been deemed the place to which they might most conveniently be sent, application was made to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company on the subject. The Directors were not desirous of receiving them at Sierra Leone, but expressed their readiness to render every assistance in effecting their settlement in any other part of Africa, and in afterwards instructing them, provided the British Government would leave to the Directors the appointment of the persons set over them, and defray every part of the expense.

These conditions being agreed to, measures were taken for removing the Maroons from Nova Scotia to the African coast; and they arrived in the river Sierra Leone, as has been already mentioned, at the end of September, 1800.

The Directors had previously sent Mr. George Ross, one of their servants, who had been several years at Sierra Leone, to Nova Scotia, as their agent, in order to explain to the Maroons the terms on which they were to be received in Africa, to witness their acceptance of them antecedently to their embarkation, as well as to prepare them for the circumstances in which they would find themselves placed on arriving in Africa; to acquire also a knowledge of their capacities, disposition, manners, and customs; and to accompany them to Sierra Leone river.

Report, 1801.

They were convicted of the felonies laid to their charge, and suffered death in consequence. The remainder gladly submitted to the terms offered by the Governor, which were, that they should leave the colony, and never return to it without permission. Seven, who had taken a principal part in exciting the disturbance, were sent to Goree, and twenty-five were transported to the Bulam shore, where they were directed to form a settlement, and to cultivate the lands for their subsistence*. After a few years of probation, they were permitted to return to the colony.

* Report, 1801.

CHAP. VI.

ON the admission of the Maroons, whose arrival had thus preserved the peace of the colony, the Governor and Council hoped to procure for them the island of Bananas, about thirty miles to the south of Freetown; but in this hope they were disappointed, through an alarm raised in the minds of the Natives by the Slave-traders. They then turned their thoughts to the Bulam shore (which forms the north bank of the river Sierra Leone), where a purchase of land had been made a long time before. But as the Natives had there also been led to entertain great fears of the Maroons, it was doubtful whether the settlement would be effected without opposition.

The favourable testimonies, therefore, of the officers who conducted them to Sierra Leone, their own anxious desire to be placed under the immediate protection of the Company, and the actual services which they had rendered it, disposed the Governor and Council to grant them lands on the same side of the river with the Company's settlement, where, under the immediate eye of the Government, they would not only be less liable to an attack from the Natives, but more likely to improve in habits of subordination and civilized life *.

Town lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville-town, November 1800, and farms allotted to them near that place.

After the disappointments already experienced in the instance of the Nova Scotia settlers, the Directors were not disposed to form any sanguine hopes respecting the Maroons. Their conduct, however, proved to be regular and satisfactory. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit.

* Report, 1801.

About this time, the liberality of the British Government was again excited toward the struggling colony, by a memorial on the part of the Company; and a parliamentary grant of 4000*l.* was obtained for the support of its civil establishment; which grant there was reason to hope would be annual. Provision was made for defraying the expense of settling the Maroons in its territory. A sum of 10,000*l.* was granted to indemnify the Company for a part of its heavy expenditure in the first settling of the Nova Scotians; and a further sum of 7000*l.* was voted toward building a fort *.

This timely relief was of essential importance. Besides the destruction of property caused by the French squadron in 1794, the colony had suffered the loss of several richly-laden vessels at sea during the three last years of war. The progress of cultivation had also been checked, in consequence of the recal of the native labourers by their chiefs †: and the advance of the schools was retarded by the want of sufficient teachers. But as soon as the favourable disposition of the British Government was made known in the colony, a new spring was given to industry and hope ‡.

The Governor and Council were anxious to employ the new authority with which they had been invested by the Charter, in introducing a firmer system of order; and they were beginning to witness its happy effects, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement, by some neighbouring native chiefs, who had not previously alleged any cause of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of Natives, headed by two of the late Nova-Scotia insurgents who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the Governor's house. After

* Report, 1801.

† In the year 1798, three or four hundred native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the settlement, chiefly on the farms, which were increasing rapidly; some in the service of the Europeans, and some in that of the Nova Scotians. These native labourers were freemen, who came from neighbouring parts, and received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own. —*Report*, 1804.

‡ Nearly at this time a newspaper was begun to be published once every fortnight; and propositions were sent to England for furnishing it to subscribers at seven shillings per annum. —*Report*, 1801.

some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the situation they before occupied in the neighbourhood of the colony. In March 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the colony was restored.

But it was conceived that the chiefs, who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen an apprehension of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced again to have recourse to Parliament for the means of greater exertions. In May 1802, they petitioned for an enlargement of the pecuniary grant of 4000*l.* which had been paid to them for the two preceding years. On this occasion they delivered a statement in detail, respecting the colony, in which they showed as well the difficulties that had been experienced, as the progress that had been made. After considering its actual state and prospects, under the heads of trade, cultivation, and civilization, they next set forth the advantages, in a national and political view, of maintaining the settlement by adequate provision for its support*: and having shown that there was reason to hope for great and extensive benefit from a firm maintenance of the colony, they threw themselves on the protection of the British Government, submitting to it the question, "whether the work which they had begun might be considered as a ground on which the Parliament of Great Britain ought to proceed;" and adding this remarkable and decisive declaration—that "unless the colony was likely to be rendered permanently safe, the Directors were of opinion that it ought to be relinquished†."

* "The nation which possesses Sierra Leone, may command, in a considerable degree, the trade of a large part of Africa, and will enjoy a paramount influence throughout the whole line of coast from Gambia to Cape Palmas. No other situation on the whole coast, from the Mediterranean to the Equator (not less than three thousand miles), possesses the same advantages. Should the colony be abandoned, there will be no British station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, and no convenient and safe harbour between the same place and the Cape of Good Hope."—*Report*, 1804.

† Ibid.

A Committee of the House of Commons being appointed to investigate the merits of the petition, and having returned a favourable report of the prospects of the settlement, a sum of 10,000*l.* was, on the 11th of June 1802, granted for that year.

On this encouragement, the Governor and Council were instructed to pursue the most effectual means of giving security to the colony by erecting works of defence, as well as to renew their efforts for civilization and agriculture.

In the mean time, notwithstanding the truce which had been concluded with the Native Chiefs in March 1802, the colony was attacked, in the following month, with a force amounting to more than four hundred men, among whom were eleven of the rebel settlers who had been banished from the settlement. The attack was sudden and vigorous, but the assailants were fortunately again repulsed with great loss. The spirits of the settlers, however, in consequence of this second attack, were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general.

Soon after this period an officer arrived, who had been sent over by Government to examine and report the state of the settlement; and his report was such as to induce the Minister (Mr. Addington) to suspend the grant, which the Directors had conceived to be annual, until another parliamentary inquiry should take place. This inquiry was not instituted till toward the end of 1803; and the report was made in 1804.

Previously to the inquiry, the Directors had strongly urged to his Majesty's Ministers the expediency of transferring the civil and military power of the Company to the British Government, leaving to the Company the care of the commerce, cultivation, and civilization of the colony. The only condition they required was, that security should be given on the part of Government against any admission of the Slave Trade or slavery within the colony. The communications on this subject continued during the succeeding year, but led to no conclusion; and in the mean time the Directors were perplexed as to

the line of conduct which they ought to pursue, while (from the suspension of the expected grant from Parliament) the affairs of the colony became every day more embarrassed, on account of the insufficiency of the Company's funds to defray the necessary expenses of the establishment.

Urged therefore by the view of the approaching distress of the colony, as well as by the peculiar title to protection which both the Maroons and Nova-Scotians possessed, (all of whom had been induced to come to Sierra Leone in the firmest confidence on the support of the British Government,) the Directors, in the year 1803, drew up a very spirited representation on the subject, which was likewise laid before the Committee of the House of Commons*. Notwithstanding the heavy discouragements which had attended the first efforts to establish a settlement of Free Negroes on the coast, too many circumstances presented themselves of a different cast, to suffer the hopes of such an establishment to be wholly relinquished by the British Nation. The centric situation of Sierra Leone, its safe and commodious harbour, the valuable productions of the surrounding country, rendered it highly important to Great Britain; especially in the view of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in which case the germ of civilization planted there would prove invaluable. But,

* The statement of the Directors gave a very satisfactory account of what had been effected to answer the purposes of the last parliamentary grant. Captain Day, an officer of his Majesty's Navy, had gone out as Governor, and, by the vigorous measures which he had taken for rendering the colony secure against any future attack from the Natives, had restored confidence both to the Settlers and to the Chiefs who had been friendly to it; and had induced the greater part of those who had entered into a confederacy against it, to sue for peace. The spirits of the colonists were of course revived, the Native free labourers returned to their employ on the farms, and cultivation was successfully resumed.

An accession of territory having been gained by the Company during the late hostilities, in that part of the peninsula which lies between Freetown and Sierra Leone, lands were allotted in that district to the Maroons, who are stated to have proved a valuable acquisition to the colony, by their submission to the laws and general good conduct.

Captain Day returned to England on the declaration of war against France, and Mr. Ludlam resumed the government of the colony.

The Committee, of which the present Marquis of Lansdown was chairman, entered into a very minute and laborious investigation of the state and prospects of the colony. Among others, Captain Hallowell, whose unfavourable report had induced Mr. Addington to suspend the grant, was examined at great length.—*Report*, 1804.

independently of these powerful reasons, the obligation incurred by the Government, of supporting the numerous settlers who had relied on its promises for protection, and who must otherwise be left to unavoidable destruction, formed a moral necessity which precluded any possibility of withdrawing wholly from their support, at least while a further effort might be made in their favour. The result of the investigation by the Committee was a recommendation to support the undertaking. A sum, adequate in all points to the wants of the settlement, was, in consequence, granted by Parliament, for its effectual defence and maintenance; and its security was thus once more confirmed.

In the Report of the Committee, it was, however, observed, that, from a full consideration of the many difficulties which still continued to embarrass the Company, as well as from the interest which the British Government must continue to take in the settlement at Sierra Leone*, it was their opinion that the great object for which the colony had been undertaken might be more readily and effectually obtained by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the Crown; with which view, it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to his Majesty. This proposal met, of course, with the full approbation of the Directors; and having been afterward submitted to the consideration of a General Court of Proprietors, was approved of by them also. It was reconsidered in another General Court, which met on the 7th January 1807, and which had been specially summoned for the purpose of examining "the statements of the expenditure from the origin of the Company, and the present actual value of their possessions; of inspecting all their papers and documents; and of instituting an inquiry, from these premises, whether it were possible, that, by further subscription, any advantages might result to the Company from their continuing to cultivate their lands or establishing an open trade with the colony;

* The Report is in this respect highly honourable to our Government, as *never hesitating* on the necessity of supporting, at whatever expense, those (the Nova Scotians and Maroons) for whom it had once pledged itself to provide.

and, finally, whether by such, or any other means in their hands, those advantages might be attained of cultivation, commerce, and civilization for which the Company was at first formed:" when, the resolutions of the previous meeting having been confirmed, a Bill was brought into Parliament for surrendering the colony to his Majesty, and it obtained the Royal Assent on the 8th of August *. The Act strictly forbad the traffic in slaves within the colony †, and continued to the colonists the full enjoyment of all civil rights which they had possessed under the authority of the Company.

In the course of the year 1807, peace had been fully established by a treaty with the Native Chiefs; and on the 1st January 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the Crown by Governor Ludlam, and the Company withdrew from its arduous enterprise,—bearing with it the grateful consciousness, that it had humanely rescued from imminent peril the progress of those beneficent designs, with which the colony had first been formed; that its zealous and long-continued labours had opened the paths of social improvement to a degraded continent, for the diffusion of the arts of civilized life, and of the benign precepts of Christianity; that it had freely imparted the benefits flowing from those sources, as far as the difficulties with which it had to struggle would permit; that, by the education of numerous African youths, it had tended to raise the minds of future chiefs of that country to the contemplation of just and important national objects, and had rescued their native character and talents from the base aspersions of European avarice; that, by exposing the real nature of the Slave Trade, and the artifices by which those miscreants, who engaged in it, were so long able to delude a hesitating Legislature, it had contributed most materially to the abolition of a

* It was entitled "An Act for transferring to his Majesty certain Possessions and Rights vested in the Sierra Leone Company, and for shortening the Duration of the said Company, and for preventing any Dealing or Trafficking in the Buying or Selling of Slaves within the Colony of Sierra Leone." (8th August, 1807.) Anno quadragesimo-septimo Georgii III. Regis. sess. 11.

† When the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade was passed in England, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was established at Sierra Leone, for the purpose of giving full effect to its provisions in the colony.

traffic, which insulted the bounty of the Creator and inflicted unspeakable evils on our fellow-creatures ;—that it had displayed the superior advantages of English law and English justice on a shore where England had been only known for crimes and named for execration ; that, in fine, it had established a point of civilization for Africa, on a central part of the coast, now provided with adequate means of subsistence and defence, which, under the blessing of Providence, might in time become the emporium of commerce with Europe, and maintain between the two continents all the friendly relations of peace, science, justice, and religious truth*.

* It is worthy of further remark, that, at the time of the surrender of the territory to Government, the colony (as appears from the last Report of the Directors, in 1808) "had attained to a situation of comparative strength and prosperity. The fortifications had been so far advanced as to communicate to it a sense of complete security. Its internal order had gone on improving; the confidence of the Natives had been restored; and the number of Native children sent to Sierra Leone for education continued to increase. The colonists were building good houses, and showed other marks of growing prosperity. Cultivation was reviving. The colony had also improved in healthiness. During the first half of the last year, the proportion of births to deaths was as twenty-three to fourteen. None of the troops had died in that time, and of the Company's servants only one had died since the 1st January 1806." (p. 11.)

In the year 1807, the population amounted to 1871 persons. The security, and consequent respect, of the colony had become so great, that the Governor was at one time employed in mediating between two of the neighbouring chiefs who had been at war for seven years ; and the mediation was successful in putting a period to the contest.

How amply the hopes arising from those favourable appearances have been since confirmed, will be seen from the following testimonies in the Report of THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION for the year 1818.—

"The slave-ships appear to lose no opportunity of attacking and destroying the legitimate commerce of the Windward Coast, particularly that of Sierra Leone, which enjoys the proud pre-eminence of being the object of their implacable hostility."

"The accounts received from time to time of the progress of improvement at Sierra Leone continue highly favourable. Letters, dated the 21st January last, state that every thing at that time was going on well; that trade was brisk in the colony ; and that there was *no war* in the country around it."

"On the 31st March, 1817, the total number of scholars, male and female, educated in the different schools at Sierra Leone, amounted to 1422, (being an increase of 185 in the preceding six months). The schools were remarkably well attended by the pupils generally, who appeared eager to reap the benefits of the instruction afforded them; and their improvement is stated to have been considerable.

"A very large proportion, probably five-sixths, of the individuals who are thus represented as enjoying the benefits of Christian instruction, are *liberated captives*, who have only recently been rescued from the holds of slave-ships. They have been collected from various points on the

extended line of the African coast to this spot, where, under the protection of British law, and in the enjoyment of British liberty, they are acquiring also the advantages of British knowledge and the higher blessings of religious light."

"Of the whole population of the colony, a very large proportion consists of liberated captives, distributed in various villages, pursuing the occupations of peaceful industry on farms of their own, gradually laying aside their native superstitions, and eager to avail themselves of all the means of instruction within their reach."

Extract from a Letter from his Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone, addressed to the Secretary of the African Institution, dated Government House, 6th March, 1818.

"I shall avail myself of an early opportunity to forward the return of the schools. The number of scholars of both sexes in the country towns has increased, and the grand total of men, women, boys, and girls, now attending schools on the peninsula, does not fall short of two thousand. The inhabitants of the colony have so very frequently experienced the interest the friends of Africa take in their prosperity, that I feel it a most pleasing part of my duty to be enabled to prove, by incontrovertible documents, the very great improvements in the commercial importance of this colony. The enclosed returns prove, that during the year 1817 the amount of merchandize imported into the colony exceeds that of the year 1816 by 39,286*l.*; and the number of vessels fourteen. I doubt not but you will observe with pleasure, that this increase is on the British goods. The prospect of our exports for the present year is highly flattering. The wood for ship-building having been so successfully tried in the Royal dock-yard, one vessel has already sailed (in January), the Pyrennees: the brig Mary sails this day with the same: the Magdalene is loaded in the harbour, on the point of sailing: the ship Preston is loading near Bance island. Several vessels are expected. The rice harvest has been abundant: preparations are making for cleaning that article so as to render it fit for the West-India market; and if the experiment of rice mills, which I understand are now making in England, should succeed, I have no doubt but from the neighbourhood of this very colony, so frequently traduced, a great proportion, if not the whole, of our West-India islands could be supplied with food, procured by British merchants, and with goods, the produce of the mother country or of her East-India empire; and the adjoining rivers would thus be amply repaid for giving up the Slave Trade."

In addition to the above statements, it may be observed, that the instruction given in the schools *is in the English tongue;* a circumstance of which future ages will appreciate the value.

It is scarcely to be doubted, that the perseverance of our nation will finally effect the establishment of civil relations with Africa; and the hand of gratitude or vengeance will, one day, be stretched out from that continent towards the other quarters of the globe.

CHAP. VII.

AFTER the general history of the settlement at Sierra Leone, let us return to the narrative of Mr. Sharp's part in the transactions of the colony; a part no less arduous, and pursued with no less perseverance and philanthropy, than when he first raised from the dust the degraded image of his Creator, and sturdily rescued him from the shackles of avaricious tyranny and prejudice.

The obstacles which opposed the larger plans of the chartered *Company* in this singular settlement, have been seen to be the want of sufficient power in the hands of its Government, and the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring Natives; the narrow scale of the establishment; the unfavourable character of the Nova-Scotia Blacks who joined the first Settlers; the war with France; and, lastly, the unabated process of the Slave Trade.

But these difficulties, great as they were, appear light, in comparison with the dangers of the *first experiment*, and of the untrodden paths into which Mr. Sharp had boldly ventured, and to which his papers chiefly refer.

Of the hopes and disappointments which attended his enterprise, his own letters, and those of the poor settlers themselves, will supply the fullest and most interesting accounts. The latter will be found necessarily below the standard of epistolary writing; but they are worthy to be inserted, because, even more than the preceding narrative, they represent, by a close and distinct view, such as the public has rarely been acquainted with, the natural struggles attendant on the formation of an infant colony.

Extracts from Letters from G. S. to Dr. J. Sharp.

"23d June, 1787.

"I had the pleasure of hearing this day of the safe arrival of the African

settlers at the Madeira islands; and that all the jealousies and animosities between the Whites and Blacks had subsided, and that they had been very orderly ever since Mr. Vasa and two or three other discontented persons had been left on shore at Plymouth. Schools are established on board each ship, as I had proposed; and they have daily prayers. The account is from the chaplain, Mr. Fraser *."

"31st October, 1787.

"I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone.

"They have, however, purchased twenty miles square of the finest and most beautiful country (they all allow) that was ever seen! The hills are not steeper than Shooter's Hill; and fine streams of fresh water run down the hill on each side of the new township; and in the front is a noble bay, where the river is about three leagues wide: the woods and groves are beautiful beyond description, and the soil very fine. So that a little good management may, with God's blessing, still produce a thriving settlement."

G. S. to Mrs. ——, New York.—[EXTRACT.]

"Madam, "January 12, 1788.

"I have long delayed acknowledging your letter, in the daily expectation of hearing from some of the adventurers who sailed last spring to form a new settlement at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa; but I had no tidings of them till the middle of October last, and those but discouraging: so that I had no inducement to communicate them.

"Although the ships were ready to sail by Christmas 1786, they did not get away till April last, which fatally postponed their arrival on the coast till the rainy season commenced; whereby dreadful fevers and a great mortality ensued, the people not having had time to prepare sufficient shelter and accommodation for themselves at their landing. But the greatest blame of all is to be charged on the intemperance of the people themselves; for the most of them (both Whites and Blacks) became so besotted during the voyage, that they were totally unfit for business when they landed, and could hardly be prevailed on to assist in erecting their own huts. Besides, the distempers occasioned by their

* The Rev. Mr. Fraser, originally a member of the Scottish Church, was, at his own request, and in compliance with the wishes of the settlers, allowed to attend the expedition.—*See Letter from G. S. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, August* 1786, *page* 264.

intemperance carried off a large proportion of them before they reached the coast; so that the climate of Africa is by no means chargeable with the mortality, though our public prints have asserted the contrary, and have asserted also that the purposed settlement had entirely failed *. But I am not without hopes that it may still succeed and thrive. The code of Regulations which I drew up for the settlement, not being objected to by Government, was adopted by the settlers before they sailed: and if they would be careful to maintain it, they would become the freest and the happiest people on earth; because the poor are effectually provided for, and their rights secured, the meanest cottager being allowed a due share of the land, besides a property and interest in the settlement. There are about two hundred settlers still remaining in the township that was formed on their first landing; and they are still in peaceable possession of the free land which they obtained by voluntary agreement with the Natives. Any kind of cultivation may be carried on there. Cotton, in particular, it is supposed, may be raised of the most valuable texture, such as would always succeed at the London market; and rice, gum, dying wood, and other valuable articles innumerable, may also be raised, with very little labour.

"I remain, dear madam," &c. &c.

"P. S. There are several people here, both Blacks and Whites, who are very desirous to join the settlers, but have no means of obtaining a passage. If I could afford to fit out a proper ship at my own expense, I would certainly do it. I have several times offered to give 100*l.* towards the expenses; but it has not been deemed sufficient encouragement to undertake the business."

* The nature of the reports here alluded to, may be gathered from the following paragraph, which appeared in *The Times*.

"Sir J.—— H——y stated, that in the spring of the year 1788 he had been at Sierra Leone, where he had touched in an East-India ship, and found the insalubrity of the climate such, that, of *one thousand seven hundred persons* who had been there in the preceding year, *only one* remained; all the rest having died there, with the exception of about twelve, who took refuge in an island in the river. One fourth of the crew of a vessel perished there during a stay of two months."

It is mortifying to observe in what degree the channels even of respectable papers were opened to the most erroneous statements respecting this colony. The above paragraph was written *after* the publication of the complete Reports of the Sierra Leone Company.—It has already been shown, that, instead of *seventeen* hundred settlers, about *four* hundred only went out at first from England; the mortality amounted to less than one half; and it will presently appear, that Captain Thompson remained at Sierra Leone during the whole rainy season with his Majesty's sloop Nautilus, and *lost one man only* by sickness! (and even *his* death was not attributed to the climate, but to a fever caught by being wet through, while out a-shooting).

G. S. to Dr. Lettsom, M. D.

"Dear Sir, "Wicken Park, near Stony Stratford, Bucks, October 13, 1788.

"Your kind communication of a sensible letter from Dr. Thornton at Philadelphia, has devolved on me an indispensable duty to give you the fullest information in my power respecting the new settlement of Sierra Leone, because your friend seems to be heartily desirous to promote it.

"The opinion, which he has adopted of my late worthy friend Dr. Fothergill, that the establishment of a free settlement on the coast of Africa for honourable trade would be the most effectual means of destroying the Slave Trade, has so far been always my own opinion, that it induced me to advance much more money than a private person in my situation ought to have done, among the first settlers, to encourage their embarkation last year*. Several circumstances concurred to injure this first attempt, though the expense of transports and subsistence, as also of tools, arms, &c. was defrayed by Government. Many of the Black poor were embarked in the river Thames before Christmas 1786; but others delayed going on board till January and February 1787, being deterred by a jealousy which prevailed among them that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay, as the transports for that expedition were then waiting at Portsmouth, where the ships for Sierra Leone were ordered also. On the 20th February 1787, instead of 700 Black poor who had offered themselves to

* The following minute stands in an "*Account-Book of Expenses of Settlers on the Coast of Africa.*"

MS.—Given to the settlement ..... £ 111 14 8
Lent to ditto 68 1 0
Given to the individuals of ditto 45 3 8
Lent to ditto 17 15 6
Lent 118 10 4
361 5 2
[Here follows a list of various presents given to purchase land, amounting in all to] 14 14 9
Lent to individuals, to enable them to redeem their pledged goods, &c. before they would embark 122 10 8
498 10 7
Other charges making the total..... 567 0 4

N. B. This account is exclusive of my expenses in 1788, when I sent out the Myro brig to assist the settlement, which amounted, with subsistence of poor Blacks since, to 1168 18 4
Add expenses above 567 0 4
1735 18 8

go to the proposed settlement, there were only 439 or 441 (for the accounts differ) that embarked on board the three transports appointed for them—viz. the Belisarius, Atlantic, and Vernon—which by that time were all arrived at Portsmouth. On the 22d February 1787, they sailed, under the command of Captain Thompson, of his Majesty's sloop the Nautilus; but, meeting with stormy weather, they were separated, and it was the 19th March before they were all collected in Plymouth Sound. Thus the best part of the season was lost, and many of the people had been on board above three months, and were become very sickly. Unhappily, the allowance of rum, granted to them by the Government with the most benevolent intention, really proved their greatest bane: many of them drank their whole day's allowance at once, and got drunk with it: and this irregularity, together with a diet of salt provisions, and being rather too much crowded between decks, increased the sickness, and occasioned the loss of more than fifty lives, it is said, even before they reached Plymouth. Other bad consequences of the rum were disagreements and mutinous behaviour, for which twenty-four were discharged, and twenty-three ran away. Nevertheless, by an account before me, 411 settlers sailed from Plymouth on the 8th April 1787; so that they must have had some recruits, though they are not mentioned in the list. Of these 411 persons who sailed from Plymouth, thirty-four died in April and May, before they had made any settlement on the coast, and fifteen were discharged, or ran away; and on the 16th September, when his Majesty's sloop Nautilus left the settlement, there remained in all 276 persons: so that ninety-six must have died at Sierra Leone in June, July, August, and September, 1787. But this mortality on the coast is not to be attributed to the climate, for most of the people still continued intemperate, and they had not yet any fresh provisions; so that many of the sick did not recover of the distempers they carried with them; and the rainy season set in before they could finish their huts, which were therefore neither wind nor water tight, and this bad accommodation certainly increased the mortality *.

" I am obliged to be very prolix in my account, lest the misfortune should be attributed to the climate and country, instead of the true causes.

" 22d March, 1788.

* " Lieutenant Morton has procured for me an extract from the journal of the Nautilus, which is very agreeable to me. I find the mortality at Sierra Leone has not been so great as former accounts set forth; and that the Nautilus, out of near one hundred men, lost only one man during her long stay of four calender months and one week, in the most dangerous season, during the rains. So that there is ample reason to believe, that the loss of the settlers was occasioned by their intemperance on ship-board, and the want of sufficient shelter from the rains when in a distempered state."—*Letter of G. S. to Dr. J. Sharp.*

" However, a fine tract of mountainous country, covered with beautiful trees of all kinds, was purchased at a trifling expense of a Negro Chief, called *King Tom*, extending from the watering-place in *Frenchman's Bay* (since called St. George's Bay) up to Gambia Island, which is above fifteen miles. I have since been informed, that the extent on the river is above twenty miles of the southern bank of Sierra Leone river, and twenty miles back all the way, which reaches almost across the promontory to the Sherbro river.

" This situation between two great rivers renders the air particularly temperate for that climate, and the advantages for trade will certainly be very great.

" Captain Thompson fixed upon a beautiful eminence, rising from the side of a higher mountain, for the site of the new township, having a fine brook of fresh water on three sides of it. Above 360 town lots, of one acre each, were marked out in streets; and the lots were drawn and appropriated on the 12th June 1787: but the death of Mr. Irwin, the agent conductor, as also of Mr. Gesau, the town-major (who was a good engineer, and had particular instructions and drawings for temporary works of defence and accommodations), and of Mr. Riccards, the gardener (on whose skill for the cultivation of vines and other useful produce I had built great expectations of public profit), and the desertion of many others, who had previously sold their muskets and other arms for strong liquors, occasioned great discouragement to those that remained.

" The sickness also of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, the chaplain, was another great misfortune to the settlement. His weak state of health obliged him to go to Bance Island, about thirty miles distant, as he was afraid of the want of accommodation in the new settlement. His disorder increased so much, that he came home in March last, seemingly in a deep consumption; which, however, cannot be attributed to the climate of the settlement, as he did not reside in it; and it is remarkable, that when he called there, just before his return to England, he found that he himself was the only unhealthy person in the settlement. The number of settlers was then, as he told me, only 130 persons in all: which great reduction he did not attribute to sickness, but merely to *emigration;* for they were too poor, it seems, to purchase live stock of the Natives, without which even the best land becomes almost useless, and affords but a scanty subsistence.

" On receiving this account, I was apprehensive that a total desertion was probable, and that all the public and private expenses that had been bestowed on this undertaking were in danger of being lost, together with that beautiful tract of land, and the opportunity of forming in it a free settlement (as an asylum for the poor) on the most eligible spot in all Africa.

" Impressed with this idea, I began to entertain thoughts of sending out, even at my own expense, some more poor people, both White and Black, with money to purchase at the Cape de Verd Islands some live-stock, the want of which, I believe, was the principal cause of desertion. But I was deterred for some time by the fear of so expensive an undertaking, until I received one hundred guineas, on the 21st March last, from a generous friend, towards the support of the settlement; which fixed my determination to charter the Myro brig, of about 160 tons, Captain Taylor owner and commander, with whom I had before treated. I then provided clothes, bedding, tools, arms, and provisions, for fifty people; for though there was sufficient room in the brig for seventy, yet I remembered the bad consequences of crowding the former transports, and therefore wished to send rather too few than too many: and I was careful to furnish them with fresh provisions, and bread, and spruce-beer, all the time the ship lay in the river, and also with live swine to kill upon the voyage.

" After I had refused many passengers, for fear of crowding the vessel too much, several of those that had been admitted deserted the vessel, just as she was ready to sail, when it was too late for me to make up the complement; whereby only thirty-nine passengers, instead of fifty (the intended number), actually set out.

" Among these were several very intelligent men—two of them surgeons of respectable abilities, Mr. Tacitus and Mr. Peale; and also Mr. Irwin, son of our late Agent Conductor. I gave them 190 dollars, to purchase 1000 fowls and fifty head of small breeding cattle (goats, sheep, and swine), at the Cape de Verd Islands. All these preparations, and the money I was obliged to advance, cost me above 900*l.* to my own share, besides the 100 guineas before mentioned given me, and also fifty guineas more given by the said generous friend towards the expense. Afterwards I obtained from Government 200*l.* toward furnishing more live-stock; which enabled me to make a second contract with Captain Taylor for 400 head of small breeding cattle, 500 fowls, and twelve cows and two bulls, to be paid for upon receiving a certificate of the delivery from the settlement. This second contract amounted to 250*l.*—viz. 50*l.* more than I received at the Treasury. However, I considered this business as a great national concern, and that it was my duty to use my utmost exertions, without weighing my own inconvenience.

" The vessel sailed from the Downs, with a strong gale of wind, but perfectly fair for her, on the 7th of June last, and, to my great anxiety, I have heard nothing of her since!!

" Before the end of June last, I received a very alarming account of the settlement from Mr. Richard Weaver, the chief magistrate, dated the 23d April 1788, informing me that the greatest part of the people had emigrated, some to the neighbouring *Slave-factors*, and some on board the Slave-ships; and that King Tom, of whom the land was purchased, presuming on the weakness of the remainder, had sold two of the settlers for slaves, and threatened to sell more. This was the more mortifying to me, because I had hoped to secure not only the *privileges*, but the title also, of the *Province of Freedom* to the new settlement.

" I immediately wrote to Mr. Pitt, and requested that immediate directions might be given to the Captain of the man of war, then under orders for the coast, to secure the people from further molestation. Mr. Weaver did not inform me what number of people remained at the settlement at the time he wrote (viz. 23d April), but I hope the Myro brig, by God's providence, might arrive in time to save a total dispersion of the settlers.—This is all the information I am able at present to give of the state of the settlement; and having done the utmost in my power to save it, I must now leave the support of this infant community to persons whose means are not so slender and insufficient for such public exertions as my own."

[The letter here enumerates several persons who were willing to join or otherwise promote the colony, if they could be properly assisted.]

" The accounts I have heard of the country and climate are much more flattering than the state I have just given of the settlement itself. Sir George Young, of the Navy, assured me, before the Black poor sailed last year, that *Frenchman's Bay*, in which the first township is formed, is, without exception, as fine a harbour as any in the world; that the mountains, which abound with brooks of fresh water, are covered with the most noble forests and perpetual verdure. He gave particular directions to Captain Thompson where to find this spot for the principal town.

" If your friend wants more information concerning the country and climate, he must read the accounts published by Lieutenant Matthews, of the Navy, who lived at a Negro town on the peninsula about three years—being employed indeed in the Slave Trade, for which he is an advocate, though his arguments do more harm to his cause than good; but in other respects he is a person of credit.

" The natural products are equal to the most sanguine hopes of gain. Fine cotton, and the best indigo in the world; gum copal; castor nuts for oil;

a variety of spices grow wild upon the mountains, as well as the finest timber, fit for every purpose; and the seas abound with most excellent fish, three kinds of turtle, besides prodigious quantities of oysters, prawns, &c. Nothing was wanting but breeding cattle, and tame fowls, to render life comfortable; and I trust in God's mercy, that my poor endeavours will before this time have happily supplied that deficiency.

" I have but one other point to mention. Your friend dislikes the name of a colony, and wishes rather to promote *a free settlement*. I am as zealous for freedom, and for all the rights of humanity, as he can be, and therefore I have adopted the ancient English *frank-pledge* as the basis of all the regulations proposed for the *new settlement;* being thoroughly persuaded that every place must of course be a *free settlement* wherever frank-pledge—and more especially that most essential branch of it, a constant watch and ward, by regular rotation, of all the males from sixteen to sixty, with their own arms in their own hands (arma pacis et defensionis)—is maintained; and that colonies, or even kingdoms and monarchies, may be rendered perfectly free and happy by this glorious Patriarchal system; which is the only effectual antidote to unlimited or illegal government of any kind, whether under monarchic, aristocratical, or democratical forms: for by this, such effectual balance of power may be certainly maintained, that the whole can act as one man, though every separate family shall still enjoy its due share of power, as far as is consistent with the rights and sentiments of the majority.

" I remain, with great esteem," &c. &c.

LETTERS FROM THE SETTLERS TO MR. SHARP.

[The first of these letters is of a very early date in the settlement, and appears to contain the *discouraging tidings* alluded to by Mr. Sharp, p. 313.]

—— *Elliot to Mr. Granville Sharp.*

" Honoured Sir, " Sierra Leone, 20th July, 1787.

" I am sorry, and very sorry indeed, to inform you, dear Sir, that this country does not agree with us at all; and, without a very sudden change, I do not think there will be one of us left at the end of a twelvemonth. Neither can the people be brought to any rule or regulation, they are so very obstinate in their tempers. It was really a very great pity ever we came to the country,

after the death of Mr. Smeathman; for we are settled upon the very worst part. There is not a thing, which is put into the ground, will grow more than a foot out of it. We are situated on a very high hill, where nothing will come forth at all. Mr. Irwin is dead, which puts every thing out of its order entirely; and, what is more surprising, the *Natives* die very fast: it is quite a plague seems to reign here among us. I have been dangerously ill myself, but it pleased the Almighty to restore me to health again; and the first opportunity I have, I shall embark for the West Indies.

"The King has offered to build me a large house for a school, for me to teach those who would wish to learn; but their manner of living is so very bad and poor, that I cannot accept of the offer. There is nothing to be got in the place but fowls; and as to any other food, it is next to nothing. Rice is the best thing they have.

"I had such short notice of the ship coming away, that I have not time to give any further particulars of the country.

"I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

"A. ELLIOT."

"N. B. I suppose you will not recollect who I am. If you look over your papers, you will see that I am the young man that you lent the 1*l.* 6s. to, for which I am in duty bound to pray for your goodness."

Mr. Weaver, Chief Magistrate in the Colony of Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Honoured Sir, "Sierra Leone, 23d April, 1788.

"I now inform you of our proceedings during the time of our arrival at Sierra Leone, which was on the 9th day of May 1787; and on the 14th day the land was paid for; and next day all the people went on shore to cut a passage to get on the hill, to display the English colours. Then the body of people called a meeting, on purpose to choose their officers, whereby they choosed me to be their chief in command. During the time that I was in station, every thing was carried on quite regularly, until please God afflicted me with sickness, which was about three months and three weeks: then one John Reid was chosed in my stead, who made away with the chiefest part of the stores, and sold them; and even the body of the people missed the things, and called him to account for the same, when he could give no account of them at all, but took the opportunity of running away by night, and has been away ever since.

"And now I acquaint you of the state of our people, and situation we are in. Several of the people have left the place, I may safely say the chief part of them; some a trading in vessels for slaves; other at factories, doing what they can to get provision for their support, for we are very much in distress here: and King Tom has taken upon himself to sell two of the people, and he says that he will sell more of them, whereby I think within my own breast that Government did not take the pains to send us here to be made slaves of. And, Sir, I now acquaint you that we came too late to plant any rice, or any thing else, for the heavy rains washes all out of the ground; and we must stay till next month, to plant a little rice. And, Sir, I inform you that I was the person that went on board the Vernon at first, with my wife and child, and there continued till we arrived at Sierra Leone.

"Sir, I am your humble and obedient servant,

"RICHARD WEAVER."

Mr. James Reid, Chief in Command in the New Colony of Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.—[EXTRACT.]

"Dear Friend, "Sierra Leone, September, 1788.

"We did not find our arrival at our new settlement according to our wishes; for we arrived in the rainy season and very sickly, so that our people died very fast, on account of our lying exposed to the weather, and no houses, only what tents we could make, and that was little or no help to us, for the rain was so heavy it beat the tents down. But now, thank God, we have got houses, such as the country will afford, which does middling well; and we that are in being try every experiment in regard of proving the land, to be sensible what it will produce, and find the more we cultivate the better the land seems to turn out, in regard of the country roots and herbs. But our English seeds do not thrive; none that we brought out with us, as we have tried them; but that is owing to the seeds being too old.

"There is one thing that would be very helpful to us: if we had an agent or two out here with us*, to carry on some sort of business in regard of trade, so that we could rely a little sometimes on them for a small assistance, until our crops were fit to dispose of, and then pay them. It would be of infinite service to all the poor settlers, as provisions are scarce to be got—no, not one mouthful sometimes—which obliges us to dispose of all our clothes, and other few

* This proposition was afterwards adopted by the St. George's Bay (or Sierra Leone) Company.

necessaries that we have; though, God knows, they are not much, for we are almost naked of every thing.

"I must now inform you of my misfortune that happened after Captain Thompson's departure from us, as I was left chief in command. Our people was served out muskets, every man as he was able to carry arms, and there was remaining about eighty-nine spare ones: *them* I had secured in our store-house as well as I could, though it was very poorly secured, so that I proposed having them brought up to my own house for better security; and when I came to muster the people to do this, I could get not one person to assist, neither *would* they, except one or two that lived in my house. Was obliged to do it; and, on examining the muskets, found there was only thirty-six remaining. There was sixty-three muskets stolen by our people, by whom I knew not. After that, Mr. Weaver and Mr. Johnson held with the people, and told them that I had made away with them myself, and got them under arms against me; and they rised on me, and seized my house, and took it from me, and all what little I had in the world, and sold it, to pay for those things that was lost, all which I suppose you have heard of before this time. But when you receive this, you will be a better judge, and I hope you will take it into consideration.

"After they broke me, they thought to have God's blessing, as they said. The first thing was a young lad found shot, lying in the woods, but never found who was the person that did it. The second was, they got in a little trouble with King Tom, and he catched two of them, and sold them on board a Frenchman bound for the West Indies. The third was, five of them went up to Bance Island, and broke open a factory belonging to one Captain Boys, and stole a number of things; but they were detected, and Captain Boys sold the whole five of them," &c. &c.

[The remainder of the letter entreats a supply of necessaries, and encloses a will of William Ramsay in favour of the writer, bequeathing to him all property lying in the Treasury, &c.]

"I remain," &c. "JAMES REID."

Such as the foregoing letters have displayed, was the general temper of the colony; and such, in chief, the detail of what had passed among the settlers, who, by the unfortunate loss of their conductor Irwin, had been left entirely to their own controul, and with no other rule of guidance than the written instructions which Mr. Sharp had delivered to them before their departure from England.

Mr. Sharp, it is obvious, although discouraged, did not despair of final success. He still preserved a confidence in the conduct of the settlers, if enabled to withstand the difficulties which surrounded them, and he made, as will be further shewn, the most strenuous exertions for the recruit of their strength and support of their settlement.

SAILING OF THE MYRO.

MS.—1788. "May 1. Waited this day on Sir Charles Middleton, Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Pitt, about the sailing of the Myro."

"June 2. The Myro brig fell down from Blackwall. I took leave of the Captain."

"June 3. Sent on board the King George, Gravesend boat, twelve hogsheads of porter, a present from Samuel Whitbread, Esq. to the new settlement, to overtake the brig Myro. N. B. Mr. Whitbread had before given fifty guineas *."

"6th. Received 200*l.* from the Treasury for the new contract with Captain Taylor.

"7th. The Myro sailed this day from the Downs, with a fair wind."

Letter sent by the Myro to the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains † of Sierra Leone.

"Dear Friends, "Leadenhall Street, London, 16th May, 1788.

"Ever since your departure from England, in April 1787, I have been exceedingly anxious for your welfare; but more particularly so, since the return

* *G. S. to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. Portman Square.*

"Dear Sir, "June 5, 1788.

"Yesterday the two servants whom I sent down to the Myro brig at Gravesend, to deliver your very kind and princely present of porter for the new settlement at Sierra Leone, returned, and brought the enclosed receipt from the mate, in the absence of the master. I wrote a letter to the passengers on board, informing them that your generous donation is intended for the benefit of the whole settlement; that they must be careful that the most temperate and proper use be made of it for the general good, and that they must endeavour to exchange it with the Natives for rice, and also for such articles of commerce as may prove of the most advantage to the settlement.

"My letter was read aloud to the passengers, and they seemed truly thankful for the noble proof of your benevolence. "With great respect," &c. &c. "G. S."

Is it probable, from the mention here made of the fifty guineas, that the former donation of one hundred guineas (p. 318) was likewise from Mr. Whitbread?

† Alluding to the situation which Captain Thompson had at first fixed on.

of his Majesty's sloop Nautilus, by which I received a melancholy account of many deaths, which happened soon after your first arrival, as well as during the voyage. This extraordinary sickness, I fear, may be too truly attributed to the imprudence of those who daily consumed their full allowance of salt provisions, as well as of rum, against which I repeatedly warned many of them before they sailed. Certainly the climate of Sierra Leona is not chargeable with this great mortality of the settlers; for the disorder among them commenced long before you reached the African coast; and it appears that his Majesty's sloop Nautilus lost *but one man* during all the time she was at Sierra Leone, from the 8th of May to the 16th of September.

"The reduction of your numbers since that time, as I am informed, has been chiefly occasioned, not by sickness, but by desertion, probably through the difficulty of procuring fresh provisions: and lest the same cause should occasion a total desertion of the settlement, my earnest desire to prevent it has induced me to charter the Myro brig at my own expense, to carry passengers to recruit the new settlement; and I have shipped two months' provisions for sixty persons (as about that number had given their names, though little more than half the number have kept their word), with arms, bedding, clothing, and other necessaries, for such of them as might be destitute. I have, besides, advanced one hundred and ninety dollars, for purchasing live stock at the Cape de Verd Islands, which, I am informed, will procure about one thousand fowls, thirty head of small cattle for breeding (viz. sheep, goats, and swine), and a bull, with two cows and calves, which are as many as the vessel can conveniently carry, with the passengers on board. This *live stock* I propose to send for the common benefit, and desire that proper persons may be appointed by your common council (with a sufficient salary from the tax-labour for their trouble) to take charge separately of each species of cattle and fowls, and to feed and preserve them in distinct flocks, according to their species, that they may breed and increase for the public benefit.

"I must also request that you will take due care that no individual shall appropriate to himself any of the said cattle or fowls, until he shall have duly indentured for as many days' labour to your public bank as you shall judge the animals to be really worth; adding to the first cost a calculation of the average proportion of freight, insurance, &c. and a profit besides of at least twenty per cent. or else fifty per cent. upon the cost, in order to include freight, insurance, and profit, according to the general custom of the African coast; which will be a fair means of gradually distributing the animals for private property, to prevent

disputes among yourselves, and at the same time will be the means of enriching your public bank for the common benefit of all the settlement. So great an advance as fifty per cent. may, perhaps, seem too high and inconvenientto individuals in the present case; but as you *yourselves alone* are to reap the benefit of it, in your joint capacity as a community, I trust that the common council of the settlement will think it prudent to avail themselves of this fair opportunity to establish their bank, by taking indents to the full amount of what I have proposed, for all the cattle that are taken by individuals.

" As I have thus incurred a very great expense, not only this year, but also on your first embarkation last year, without the least view of any private interest to myself, but rather for a general good, in promoting a just and honourable trade in African productions, in contradistinction to the Slave Trade, and also for the peculiar advantage of yourselves and the settlers, I trust you will be so sensible of this, that you will not deny my earnest request to you, as a favour to myself, that you will readily admit all the persons that are now passengers on board the Myro, People of Colour as well as White, together with the captain, mates, and such of the seamen as desire it, to an equal share with yourselves in the settlement, *gratis*, agreeably to what is proposed in page 122 of the additional regulations; and (as the rainy season will probably be set in) that you will also receive them into your houses, and afford them the best accommodation you can give, with assistance to procure shelter also for their goods, cattle, and fowls; and to aid them in erecting houses for themselves, as soon as the weather will permit."

[Mr. Sharp here proceeds to request free lots for the several persons whose arrival at the Province of Freedom might be expected at *an ensuing period**.]

* Among those who are particularly named are, " the Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkson, a gentleman who has eminently distinguished himself, by several excellent publications, as an able, strenuous, and successful advocate for the liberty and natural rights of the Negroes, and who at present is prevented from joining the settlement by his continued indefatigable exertions in the same just cause, as a member of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to which Society a continuance of his assistance is at present indispensibly necessary;"—" Lieutenant John Clarkson of the Royal Navy, brother to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson above mentioned, a gentleman every way qualified to render you very essential service, as a member of your free community;"—" Mr. Peter Nassau, son of Peter King of Massurada;—Mr. William Johnson, a Mulatto, who redeemed him from slavery in the West Indies;—Henry Martin Burrows, a poor Negro, saved this year from slavery, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a Honduras ship;"—" also twelve Swedish gentlemen of rank, great learning, and abilities (several of them members of Universities, whose names are enclosed), and whose free admission will be highly beneficial to the settlement in general, and will probably be a means of opening to you an extensive

" The late alarming desertions from the settlement made me apprehensive that all the rest would be obliged to disperse in like manner, unless a speedy supply of *live stock*, with some recruits, could be immediately sent out. This induced me to exert my utmost endeavours for your support, which will cost me near 900*l.* all of which is out of my own pocket, except one hundred guineas which were given me by a generous friend toward the promotion of your settlement.

" And further, as I feared that the live stock already mentioned (notwithstanding the great expense) would be too small a quantity for an effectual aid to the settlement, and as the Myro would not be able to carry more during the existence of my first charter-party, I applied to his Majesty's Treasury for 200*l.* in behalf of the settlement, which I conceived would purchase as much as the Myro would be able to carry, with allowance of freight, risque, &c. This sum has been granted to me; and as I found afterwards that it would require 50*l.* more to make such a contract with the master of the Myro as might leave a probability of his obtaining an adequate profit for his risque and charges, I have taken upon myself to pay whatever exceeds the 200*l.* and have accordingly entered into a second charter-party with Captain Taylor, to deliver alive at the Province five hundred head of small cattle, and five hundred fowls, at 10s. per head for the cattle (the fowls to be included for that price.)

" Thus the money which I have now given on my own part, together with what I have procured, for your present relief, is more than fourteen times the first purchase of your whole territory; so that I cannot conceive that you will deny my earnest and repeated request of admitting all the present passengers in the Myro, and all the other persons mentioned in this letter, when they arrive, to equal shares with yourselves in the *Province of Freedom, gratis.*

" Your sincere friend and servant,

" GRANVILLE SHARP *."

The letter from Weaver (as stated to Dr. Lettsom) arrived soon after the sailing of the Myro, and Mr. Sharp's application to Mr. Pitt instantly followed.

communication with the *internal* parts of Africa, which they (with the most benevolent intentions toward the Natives) mean to explore."

* This letter to the first settlers was enclosed in another addressed " *To the Passengers on Board the Myro;*" in which, after expressing the warmest solicitude for their welfare, Mr. Sharp enters into the most minute detail for the regulation of their conduct, both during their voyage and after they shall have reached the settlement.—See extract in the *Appendix.*

G. S. to the Right Hon. William Pitt.—[EXTRACT.]

"June (or July), 1788.

" Right Hon. Sir,

" A letter which I have just received from the chief person in command in the new settlement at Sierra Leone, gives me much concern. The contents are of such a nature, that I think it my duty briefly to represent to you the substance of them.—[See Letter from *Weaver*, p. 322.]

" The letter is dated the 23d April last, the very day that I contracted for a ship, to send a reinforcement of settlers, and some live stock (which I suspected they would want), for their support; and I trust in God that they may arrive in due time to afford a seasonable relief, and prevent the total dispersion of the people. The second contract for live stock, which the benevolent donation of 200*l.* from his Majesty's Treasury enabled me to make, and of which I have sent a copy to the settlement, will be still a further encouragement to the people to stay. But yet a larger body of settlers is wanted, to oppose the treachery of the Natives, instigated by the *English slave-dealers* in the neighbouring factories, whose influence, I have great reason to suspect, has prompted the avarice of King Tom, and occasioned his breach of faith; for I find by another letter that all the surviving White people, the three surgeons*, and the land-surveyor that was sent out last year at the expense of Government, have actually entered the service of the slave-dealers, and that the greater part also of the Black poor are gone into the same detestable service at different factories in the neighbourhood, and some even on board the slave-ships.

" I humbly submit, whether it may not be expedient that the commander of the man of war, or frigate, now under orders for that coast, should have directions to represent to King Tom the impropriety of his conduct, in interfering with the poor people contrary to his solemn engagement, and to compel him also to declare the names of the persons to whom he sold the men, and of the ships in which they were sent away; that the plagiaries may receive exemplary punishment, and that the planters may be prosecuted for buying stolen men."

&c. &c.

* Viz. The two before named, (p. 318), and Mr. Hills, the writer of the letter; who acknowledged his having been drawn away by the offer of a considerable salary.

CHAP. VIII.

DURING the interval of suspense that succeeded to Mr. Sharp's application to the Minister, his solicitude for his colony appeared in a second charge addressed to the Settlers.

To the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, in the Mountains of Sierra Leone.—[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Friends, " September 4, 1788.

" Soon after the sailing of the Myro brig, in June last, a letter from Mr. Richard Weaver, at that time hundreder and chief in your settlement, informed me that the greatest part of the people had left the settlement, and (to my great concern and surprise) that some of them were gone in the slave-ships, to trade for slaves, and that others were gone to the neighbouring slave-factories!!

" I could not have conceived that men who were well aware of the wickedness of slave-dealing, and had themselves been sufferers (or at least many of them) under the galling yoke of bondage to slave-holders, some in the West Indies and others in America, should become so basely depraved as to yield themselves instruments to promote and extend the same detestable oppression over their brethren.

" I hope you will make an order in council, that none of these deserters, who have had any concern in the Slave Trade since the settlement of the new colony, shall be re-admitted into the community; but that their lots and shares in the settlement, and their houses, and whatever property they may have left, shall be deemed forfeited to the public bank, for the benefit of the whole community; and that the same forfeiture and disinheritance shall be incurred also by every person that shall at any time hereafter be convicted of selling a slave, or being in any way accessary to the sale or the bondage of a human being! And this I earnestly recommend to be enacted for a perpetual constitutional law of the settlement.

" I gave immediate notice to the Minister of State of the outrage committed by King Tom, and requested.....[*see letter to Mr. Pitt in the preceding page.*] I

have likewise desired a particular friend of the Minister to urge the necessity of sending out those orders, so that I trust they have not been neglected. The passengers on board the Myro (if it was God's pleasure that they should arrive safe) would afford you such a comfortable reinforcement (being all well armed), as I hope might enable you, if you keep up a strict military watch and ward by rotation among yourselves, to awe King Tom from further attempts. But as Mr. Weaver has not mentioned the number of settlers that remained when he wrote, I am very anxious for your safety, and earnestly wish, for your own sakes, that you will give all possible encouragement to the new settlers, until the number amount at least to three hundred males able to bear arms; and that you should send notice, at every opportunity, of what numbers are deficient of the proposed establishment, that others may be induced to join the settlement by the hopes of obtaining free lots."

[He then requests that free lots may be granted, for his sake, to three other persons coming from England.]

" In making this request, I have not the least mercenary private interest, but only a public interest of love and zeal for the general welfare of the settlement, founded in the hopes that it may, in good time, extensively promote the glorious cause of liberty, and gradually reduce the detestable tyranny which the great Spiritual Slave-holder, and Enemy of mankind, has set up, and too long maintained, in Africa, to the disgrace of human nature: but be assured, that unless you join in sincere daily prayers for the safety and increase of the settlement, with earnest public resolutions, in your assemblies, of maintaining strict righteousness and law on all occasions, it will be folly to hope for success; for, 'unless the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain.'

" I remain, with sincere wishes for your welfare, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

" G. S."

In the mean time, the arrival of the Myro at Sierra Leone answered all the hopes which Mr. Sharp had ventured to indulge, and called forth expressions of gratitude from the settlers in the following singular letters. The contents of the first insinuate that some peculiar method had been adopted to ensure its reaching Mr. Sharp's hands in safety. The second is without a date, but is obviously dictated by the same occasion. The accounts in both, of the calumnies which had been industriously propagated concerning the colonists, and of

the difficulties thrown in the way of the new settlement, are too consistent with other circumstances to leave any doubt of their truth.

The Old Settlers at Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

[Post-mark, *Merazion;* and added, "Alex^r. Sanders's writing."]

"Honoured Sir, "September 3, 1788.

"We, your humble and most grateful servants, return you, and the rest of our honourable and most humane friends, our hearty thanks, for the manifold cares and gracious providences which they have been pleased to extend toward us, and sincerely hope that your great goodness will not impute any of our former failings (if they are to be traced as such) to the want of industry, gratitude, or a knowledge of our superior duties toward our good Christian friends; we being conscious of the many injuries done us from aspersions (since our arrival here to settle under your gracious dispensation), which, as far as we can learn, have been principally framed by the enemies to our happiness as well as to truth and righteousness—such as those which have been choked with bribes, so as to fall under a sacrifice of their own wretched avarice. Such were the diabolical spirits, under a false pretence of doing us good, who have too truly been first the instigators of all our confusions, and likewise of the many miseries which we have experienced since our landing on this soil; which is clearly evident from the very crowded appearance of our burials; and more so, when considering that great number which have abandoned themselves from this settlement;—the whole of which we have essayed oftentimes to give you an account of, but have found our endeavours hitherto abortived, either from the rascality of the captains, as packet-bearers, who through some particular views have destroyed them, or otherwise through their indifference have lost them: so that nothing else, as we find, can prove effectual in communicating letters with any degree of safety into your hands. We are therefore determined, ever hereafter, to use what policy we are possibly able to collect, in the conveyance of either packets or private letters; one specimen of which your great goodness will discover, when opening this packet. For nothing of nature could have struck us with greater astonishment, than the different statements which the arrival of the Myro brig furnished us with—viz. that you had not received but two or three letters from us, when, to speak within compass, we do solemnly declare unto you, Sir, that we have not sent less than a hundred, at different times, since our first landing here; in which there has been, from time

to time, every satisfactory account given of the whole of the transactions and proceedings of this settlement. And truly it is, that the Almighty God has been pleased to make us feel the weighty effects of some of our imprudences in many respects, by which we are taught what we knew not before; for we are now satisfied in our own breasts, that the love of God and his righteousness bear the only true source of our happiness.

"We have the pleasure further to inform you, great Sir, that we have made a good progress in clearing our land, all except our water lots, which remain as yet in a state of *anorky*, through our weakness in number of people; but we hope to have some tolerable good crops this season. We have not had the opportunity of building any houses as yet, neither is our town incorporated: but there is one thing which we have to boast of, that your great goodness has excited a courage in us, that we had nearly lost through our many embarrassments; so as we are determined to follow your plans in building, as soon as the weather will permit us, especially the three principal houses—viz. church, court-house, and prison. But still we find ourselves greatly at a loss for cement for the bricks: as to lime-stone and oyster-shells, which you were told were very plentiful here, you may depend on it, Sir, that is not the case, as we can assure you that both of the articles are very scarce; for it is seldom that we can get an oyster without paying a very extortional price for them, as there is none growing near the spot where we are settled, and the Natives are so very crafty that they will not suffer us to catch any on their grounds: so that the quantity of chalk, which you were pleased to send out with the late passengers to the settlement, would have been of universal service to us, if we had been so fortunate as to have got it; but, alas! we never knew any thing of its being general, till it was forfeited to Captain Taylor by his charter-party. We offered then to get it out, and give him ballast in lieu of it, which he said was as valuable to him; but he still would not let us have it, without we would agree to pay him twice the value of it each day as demurrage, as long as we should be getting it out; so that we deemed it most requisite to let it remain on board. Captain Taylor has had the greatest advantage of us, which he did not fail to triumph in, only from being deputed by your gracious goodness, as we judge, to settle a *palaver* with the Natives about our watering-place, &c., in which, to give Satan his due, he exerted himself more than what we might have expected; and the Natives have been pretty quiet since the arrival of the brig. But before, according to what they have been monitored by the Liverpool traders, were very intruding, by sending repeated challenges to our *senit*, and endeavouring

to aggravate us, as much as possible, to break the peace with them, and leaving us under constant apprehensions of being all massacred, for two months before the brig's arrival : but we heartily thank God, and our feeling friends, for our safe deliverance ; but we do jointly request, that your honourable goodness will no longer leave us in this perilous situation, without granting us some better means of defence : for, in case of an attack from the Natives, the small arms would only serve to aggravate our guilt the more in the sight of our adversaries ; for those people are well acquainted with the use of small arms, and dread nothing in war, it seems, but a superior number of them. We poor handful of men stand but a poor chance, either in appearance or competition itself, for they are swarming round thousands thick, and the greatest number which we are able to muster is only forty odd : but even that number in a garrison, supposing it ever so small, would be able to defend themselves pretty handsomely : so that we humbly hope that your goodness will not fail in supplying us, if possible, with six or eight long nines and sixes, as articles so highly necessary to our present preservation ; as we intend also, if please God, to build our fortification in the next dry season, on Captain Thompson's Hill, which will completely defend the town from the Natives, and answer almost every other purpose of defence.

" And, also, may it please your honourable goodness to let us have a town-bell, as we find it very ill-convenient to call the people to prayers.

" So, in humble hopes that your goodness will early comply with our ardent and most sincere request, we beg leave to commend you to Almighty God, to multiply on you his perpetual blessings ; which will be ever the fervent prayers of your humble and devoted servants,

" THE OLD SETTLERS AT SIRA [SIERRA] LEONE."

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir,

" Being assembled (few and insignificant as we are) for the purpose of offering grateful thanks to our benefactors, it was impossible to forget HIM who has been the great source and support of our hopes. We need not use many words. We are those who were considered as slaves, even in England itself, till your aid and exertions set us free. We are of those whose minds and bodies are bartered from hand to hand on the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies, as the ordinary commodities of trade. But it is said that we are the factors of our own slavery, and sell one another at our own market for a price. No doubt but in our uncivilized state we commit much evil ; but surely the trader cannot believe that the strong

on the coast of Africa are entitled to deprive the weak of every right of humanity, and to devote to the most cruel slavery them and their posterity for ever, or that it belongs to him, more enlightened than we, to execute so horrid a doom. But our cause is in better hands than our own, and humbleness and sobriety, we are sensible, will best become our condition: and this, also, we know to be the return desired by you, looking for your own peculiar reward in the consciousness of doing good.

"But yet, Sir, you may allow us to believe that the name of GRANVILLE SHARP, our constant and generous friend, will be drawn forth by our more enlightened posterity, and distinguishingly marked in future times for gratitude and praise.

(Signed*) "THOMAS COOPER. "JOHN SCOT.
GEO. ROBT. MANDEVILLE. JORGE DENT.
JOHN STUART. THOS. OXFORD.
DANIEL CHRISTOPHER. JAMES BALEY.
BERNARD ELLIOTT. JAMES FRAZER.
JAMES FORSTER. THOMAS CARLISLE."

Some disasters, however, had attended the reinforcement sent by the Myro, and numerous obstacles still opposed themselves to the security of the colony, but not sufficient either to damp the courage and perseverance of its founder, or wholly to destroy the satisfaction which he derived from the success of his last effort.

G. S. to the Hon. John Jay, President of the Society at New York for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, &c. and protecting such of them as have been liberated.—[EXTRACT.]

(In answer to a Letter dated September 1, 1788, inserted p. 252.)

"Sir, "March 7, 1789.

"I am truly sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the Society at New York for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, &c., and request you, Sir, to return my sincere thanks for so great a mark of their favour, and approbation of my poor endeavours in the same charitable cause which they patronize. I ought, indeed, to have made my acknowledgments much sooner, but I was then in daily expectation of the arrival of a small ship, the *Myro* brig, Captain

* Each in his own handwriting.

Taylor, which I sent out last June to the coast of Africa, with some poor Negroes and other settlers, to the new settlement at Sierra Leone: and as I had heard that there are also many poor Negroes at New York, and other parts of America, who wish to find a comfortable settlement on the coast of Africa, and that the States were inclined to provide them with shipping, I thought it right to defer my answer, until I should be able (by the return of the Myro) to give some more authentic account of the present state of that settlement; because my only views in promoting it seem to be perfectly similar to the declared purposes of your Society; for I wished that the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains of Sierra Leone, might become a happy asylum for the liberated Negroes of America and the West Indies, as well as of the Black poor sent from England. —It is but within a very few days that I have received the long-expected letters from the settlement, and the diary of Captain Taylor's proceedings.— I am sorry to inform you, that the accounts are much more unfavourable than I had reason to expect: thirteen persons out of thirty-nine, whom I sent by the Myro, are dead; and almost all the passengers had been ill. This, however, I still find, is not to be attributed altogether to the climate, but to a total neglect in clearing the under-wood near the settlement, and to the want of judgment in the settlers, who have built their houses and huts on swampy ground, near the bottom of a hill, instead of the top of it, where Captain Thompson, who conducted the first settlers, pitched his tent: for that gentleman assured me that he found a much cooler and fresher sea-breeze at the top of the little hill, than even on board his ship, which lay out at some distance from shore; and that there are some very high hills, on which all degrees of climate are to be found. It seems, also, that too free a use of strong liquors (notwithstanding the earnest warning I gave to the passengers of the *Myro* concerning the fatal intemperance of the former settlers) is still to be reckoned among the causes of continued impediment and sickness. I do not yet repent, however, of the great expense I have been at in assisting the settlement, for I still hope that it may be maintained, and improved by a little prudent management.

"Great numbers of the dispersed settlers returned on the arrival of the *Myro*; and King Nambanna, one of the most powerful chiefs in that neighbourhood, who before refused to sign the former deed of purchase for the land, and lately, just before the arrival of the *Myro*, had even given the settlers warning to quit the settlement, has now formed a solemn covenant with Captain Taylor in behalf of the settlers; and, in consideration of the presents received as the stipulated price of *re-purchase*, has signed a complete deed of resignation to the Settlers

for ever, of all the land before granted by King Tom, whose successor, since his death, has also signed the deed, with some other chiefs: so that my sending the Myro has really saved the settlement. But King Nambanna has reserved to himself a duty of fifteen bars, to be paid by all ships which water in the Bay: each bar is worth about 3s. 4d.

"Captain Thompson likewise informs me, that the distance from *St. George's Bay* (formerly called *Frenchman's Bay*), where the new settlement commences on the *west* side, to Gambia Island, the *eastern* boundary of it, is above twenty miles: so that the new territory is really much larger than the whole island of Barbadoes, being twenty miles each way, or full four hundred square miles of land, covered with noble forests of timber and perpetual verdure.

"When Captain Taylor left the settlement last September, the number of people was still about one hundred and thirty in all; and I have no doubt they will gladly receive any free Negroes that the States of America shall be pleased to assist with passage, provisions, and necessaries for defence and establishment; provided that such new settlers will promise to observe and maintain the present laws and regulations of the settlement, which are founded on the Common Law of England.

"I have not yet been able to hear of any other part of the African coast that is equally fit for a free settlement; and I am well aware that your States may probably be unwilling to incur any considerable expense in supplying a territory with inhabitants, who must be required to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Crown of England; the first purchase of the lands, as well as the second, having been made in the King's name. But as the Government of England permits the settlers to make their own laws (i. e. such as are not inconsistent with the *Common Law of England*), to hold their own courts, assemblies, folk-motes, &c. to choose their own chiefs and officers, and to keep up a free militia amongst themselves,—the settlement, on such conditions, must of necessity be perfectly free.

"For your further information, I send you the printed Regulations.

"Having incurred a very large expense already in the new settlement, I cannot afford it any further pecuniary assistance at present; but I shall be very happy to use my best endeavours to promote the kind reception of all such free Negroes, or other persons, as the States of America, or your Society, shall think proper to send thither; provided they have no objections to the Regulations.

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

CHAP. IX.

IN the Spring of 1789, Mr. Sharp appears to have been called on by the Lords of the Treasury to give an account of the state of his colony. In a letter (dated 4th May 1789) to Thomas Steele, Esq. one of the principal secretaries, he apologises for "not having returned a more speedy answer respecting the information required by the Lords Commissioners." He then gives a general statement of the circumstances (before related) of the colony, and adds—

"The number of persons whom I sent out at my own expense, last year, on board the Myro brig, amounted only to thirty-nine (chiefly White people), though I made provisions for fifty, in order to assist in supporting the settlement. Of these, twelve died of fevers and one by a wound, four were left at the Cape de Verd Islands, and two returned; so that only twenty remain there. But though I have failed in doing so much good as I wished and intended, yet I have the satisfaction to find that the settlement has been saved by this exertion.

"I have received no regular return of the people remaining at the settlement, for they have been so much dispersed into the neighbourhood, that sometimes there were not above forty persons left; but when the Myro arrived, they returned, to the amount of about one hundred and thirty.

"The master of the Myro was persuaded by the settlers to re-purchase the whole settlement, with some expense in presents to Naimbanna, king of Rohanna, who did not sign the former agreement, and would have taken possession of the ceded land on the death of King Tom, an inferior chief: but the King has now signed an agreement for himself and his heirs for ever; and King Tom's successors, and other chiefs, have also signed the same agreement: so that I hope it is now amply secured, and may prove hereafter a very useful settlement to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, if some further timely expense and attention be bestowed upon it; for I believe it to be the most eligible spot for an European settlement on the whole coast of Africa.

"If their Lordships should require a more particular account of the settlement, I will do myself the honour to transmit to you copies of two letters, which I wrote for the information of some gentlemen at Philadelphia and New York, who were desirous of finding a settlement for about two thousand free Negroes now in America.

"With great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

Two other letters, likewise addressed to Mr. Steele, show that Granville was now beginning to extend his views to the formation of a Company of Merchants, for the purposes of a free trade with the new colony. In the first letter, he gives an account, for the information of the Lords of the Treasury, of a dispute that had arisen at Sierra Leone between the settlers and Captain N——, the master of a Liverpool slave-ship, which, he says, occasioned "a cruel plot, in revenge, between the slave-traders and some Native savages, the partners of their iniquitous traffic, to cut off and destroy the settlement." After partly exculpating the settlers, he continues,—

"Though the apprehended event would be an outrage so enormously wicked and daring, that we should scarcely conceive that a body of European traders (British and French) could be so utterly abandoned and profligate as to promote it; yet it is not entirely incredible, if we consider that the Slave Trade has initiated, and gradually produced, the most consummate iniquity and hardness of heart, in many known instances."

"I must further beg leave to remark, that the whole proceeding of the settlers, on this occasion, proves that they really maintained some reasonable form of government among them, as well as an efficient civil power to support it*.

"It is probable that the Martha of Liverpool, Captain N——n, and several other slave-ships, which were then at Sierra Leone, are by this time returned to Liverpool, and therefore I humbly submit whether it may not be right that Captain N——n should be summoned to give an account of the transaction.

"I am aware that the settlers will be roundly charged with being a set of

* The dispute arose from Captain N——'s refusal to pay a demand made for the burial of a sailor, and for three days' previous attendance on him. Captain N—— had afterwards seized a free man, and confined him in irons for three days; and the settlers, in return, seized the Captain, and detained him until he consented to pay a fine agreeably to their estimation of the injury committed by him.

mere robbers and banditti, dangerous to the existence of the neighbouring slave-factories;—for such was the language of a letter which I saw about twelve months ago, from an agent at one of the slave-factories to his employers; though the occasion itself, on which he wrote, proved that the settlers, as a body, had behaved with the utmost propriety, in detecting and delivering up to the factors five individuals of their settlement, who had been guilty of robbing a storehouse at the said factory: but the factors, on their part, showed neither mercy nor prudence, for they sold the poor culprits to the French traders into slavery for life, whereby they have rendered themselves liable to all the severe penalties above mentioned."

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

G. S. to the same.—[EXTRACT.]

"Sir, "23d July, 1789.

"Yesterday I received letters from the new settlement at Sierra Leone, copies of which I have enclosed. Though I have great pleasure to find that the combination of the slave-traders to cut off the settlement, as mentioned in my last, has not yet had any bad effect, yet my satisfaction is much allayed by further accounts of the settlers having arrested and fined another slave-trader, who had plundered a vessel not belonging to their settlement, but coming from Rohanna: but as this restitution of property was undertaken publicly and openly, on a formal requisition of the owner of the vessel to the Governor for justice, I hope their manifest intention to render the justice required will be considered as a reason for excusing the excess they have ignorantly been guilty of, in pursuing the slave-captain, and arresting him at the *Isles des Los*, far beyond the bounds of their authority. They, however, have lost six men, by the stratagem of this slave-captain, and he will probably attempt to sell them into slavery; so that the interference of Government may be necessary, to compel the slave-dealers to restore them. The messenger who brought the letters from Sierra Leone, is himself one of the settlers, a White man, who wishes to return again to the settlement, and is tolerably intelligent; so that, if you should desire to make any inquiries of him respecting the state of the country and climate, I will order him to attend you.

"The people are earnestly desirous to obtain a sloop, to trade up the rivers and on the coast, for rice, and other productions of the country that are fair articles of lawful commerce, having plenty of seamen to man more vessels than one; and a small vessel is equally wanted, to keep up a communication with

the settlement. There are, likewise, several of the settlers in town upon my hands, who are very desirous to return; and many industrious persons, who cannot find employment here, would probably join them, if there was an opportunity of passage: for, as the settlers have burnt down and cleared a great deal of the thick forest about the settlement, there will not be so much risque of life as when they first arrived. If, therefore, two small vessels (any of those that are frequently forfeited at the out-ports for smuggling) could be granted for these purposes, I would endeavour to prevail on a *few respectable merchants in the City* to undertake the charge of them, and to appoint proper masters, responsible, and under their direction *as a public Board or Company;* in which case they will be more easily induced to risque the advance of their own money, to form a joint stock for freighting the said vessels properly, in order to commence an honourable free trade, from the profits of which the expenses of victualling and keeping the vessels in repair should be first defrayed, before any division of profit is made.

"This I conceive to be a better mode of securing the maintenance of the vessels, in order to keep up a constant trade and communion with the settlement, than if the vessels were intrusted to the management of the settlers themselves.

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

While this investigation was going on, Mr. Sharp received other interesting inquiries regarding the state of the colony at Sierra Leone. They came from one of the earliest advocates for the abolition of slavery in America: the following are extracts from his letter:—

The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Newport, January 15, 1789.

"I am the Pastor of the first Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island..... When I removed to this town, my attention was soon turned to the Slave Trade, which had long been carried on here and was still continued. It appeared to me wholly unjustifiable, and exceeding inhumane and cruel: and I thought I was obliged in duty to condemn it in public, and to preach against it. I had better success than I expected:..... but this procured to me many enemies, who were increased when I proceeded, as I soon did, to condemn the holding those Africans in slavery, who were brought here by the iniquitous Slave Trade.

"I was, so far as I then knew, almost alone in my opposition to this trade,

and the slavery of the Africans: but have since read with great satisfaction your writings on that subject, some of which were published, I believe, before the time above mentioned. And I have had the pleasure of finding a conviction of the evil of this practice to spread and prevail in America; and two respectable Societies are formed, in New York and Philadelphia, with a view to promote the abolition of the slavery of Africans."

"In the commonwealth of the Massachusetts, all the Africans are freed by their constitution; and many have obtained their freedom in this State; and all are born free, by a particular law of this State, who have been born since March 1784, and all that shall be born hereafter. But the circumstances of the Freed Blacks are in many respects unhappy, while they live here among the Whites; as the latter look down upon the former, and are disposed to treat them as *underlings*, and deny them the advantages of education and employment, &c. which tends to depress their minds, and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, and involves them in many other disadvantages. This, and other considerations, have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their equals and brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious Blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct church, or religious society; and to have a Black appointed to be their pastor (and there is one at least who is thought to be qualified for that office), and then to go, with all the Blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity: at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto-uncivilised country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising tobacco, coffee, cotton, indigo, &c., for exportation as well as for their own use."

"This plan I have had in view for some years, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America to carry it into execution, there being no means yet found to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa, with a number of Blacks, to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement.

"In the mean time, we have, to our great joy, been informed that such a plan has been projected and executed in England. We were assured, that

several ships, with a considerable number of Blacks, sailed from England for Africa, in February 1787, with a design to make a settlement on the windward coast. We have been earnestly waiting for, and expecting, particular authentic information of the success of this expedition, and the place and circumstances of the settlement; but have not received any to this day. It is, indeed, reported from Africa, by way of the West Indies, that those Blacks have arrived there from England; and that a tract of land, twenty miles square, has been procured for them, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leone, and that the settlement is going on. But we have contradictory reports of the success of it.

"All this, Sir, is a lengthy introduction to the following request,—That you would please to inform me, Whether such a tract of land is procured, and on what conditions? Whether the Blacks who settle on it have the fee of the land? Under what government they are; whether British, or their own, by a particular civil constitution formed for them, to be executed by themselves, or some English gentlemen who do for that end reside among them? Whether there is any provision made to maintain and propagate religious knowledge among them, and others who may live in their neighbourhood? Whether the settlers have behaved well, and prospered, since they began; and what progress they have made? Finally, whether the Blacks in New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labour, either on lands or as mechanics, and are hereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement better, I believe, than any other Blacks that can be found—whether *these Blacks* can have any part of those lands to settle themselves upon, and on what terms; and what encouragement and assistance might they probably have?

"I am, Sir," &c. &c.

In the reply to this letter will be found the further progress of the settlement.

G. S. to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Newport, Rhode Island.

"Leadenhall Street, 25th July, 1789.

"Reverend Sir,

"Some little time after your letter came to my hands, I received an account respecting the new settlement at Sierra Leone, so very discouraging, that I began to be doubtful whether I ought to communicate to you the same invitation for the Blacks in America to go to Sierra Leone, which I had sent some time before to Philadelphia and New York. I received such alarming intelligence of a conspiracy, stirred up by the slave-traders to cut off the settlement, that I

began to give it up for lost. It is but a few days ago (the 22d instant) that these fears have been removed, by the arrival of one of the settlers, with letters from the Governor and several other persons in the settlement.

"The messenger was sent on purpose with these letters, and had no other means of coming hither than by going in a slave-ship round by the West Indies. By these letters I find, that, contrary to my fears, their enemies have not dared to meddle with the settlers, and that they are very well united, and had punished two different captains of slave-ships for ill behaviour, by fine and imprisonment, which occasioned the late combination against them. But their numbers did not exceed one hundred and twenty people, men, women, and children, altogether. However, I am informed, that since those letters were written, some more of the settlers, who had been dispersed in the neighbourhood, were returned, and that they are in all about two hundred people.

"All the White people whom I sent out last year, to assist in supporting the settlement, have been wicked enough to go into the service of the Slave Trade at the neighbouring factories, having been enticed away, I suppose, by high wages; but the people who remained in the settlement have carefully adhered to their promise, not to permit the iniquity of *slave-dealing in the Province of Freedom*; so that, though they have not kept up strictly to other Regulations which I proposed for them, yet, in this most essential point, they deserve commendation. I shall send you, by the first ship, copies of the Regulations which I wished to establish there.

"As the settlement has been lately re-purchased of King Naimbanna, the settlers, I think, must now submit to receive and accommodate all new comers with equal lots of land, gratis, until they amount at least to six hundred householders, notwithstanding the limitation of time in the Regulations; so that I hope I may venture to assert, that whatever people from America will engage to submit to the terms of the Regulations, and the English Government, (which must be perfectly free, whilst frank-pledge and a universal militia are maintained), will be admitted to free lots, even if they amount to more than double that number, provided that *they go all at one time*, and show this letter, or a copy of it, to the Governor and Assembly of Settlers in the Province of Freedom.

"In addition to the accounts which I had before received, the settlers, who brought me the last letters, inform me that the land is very good, and the neighbouring Natives very civil; and that King Naimbanna, a very reverend old man, whose town is just beyond the borders of the settlement,

is particularly kind to them. These accounts are corroborated by three other settlers, who have been here some time, and are all very anxious to get back again as soon as they can. But I am sorry to inform you, that all my expense and endeavours to procure a *live stock of cattle*, have been rendered abortive by the imprudence of the Captain with whom I contracted to procure it; for, instead of delivering the cattle at the settlement, as he ought to have done, he only gave *goods* to the *value* of a certain number of cattle, and obtained a certificate from the settlers that they had received *the value of so much cattle*, though they have no means of transporting any to the settlement; and, therefore, if any people are sent from America, it will be right to make some little reserve of goods, or dollars, to purchase a few *lean, breeding cattle* on the African coast, for their *live stock*, as they will very soon increase, because there is plenty of grass, and cattle thrive exceedingly well in most parts of the African coast, where any attention is paid to them.

"I am, with sincere esteem and respect, Rev. Sir," &c. &c.

The fresh instances of base conduct in those who deserted the cause of his benevolent undertaking, and resorted to the infamous traffic of the slave-dealers, made a deep impression on Mr. Sharp's mind.

G. S., in reply, to the worthy Inhabitants of Granville Town, in the Province of Freedom, Sierra Leone.*

"Dear Friends, "11th November, 1789.

"On the 23d July last I received, by the hands of Thomas Malady, letters from your chief magistrate, Mr. Lucas, and a letter from Mrs. Lucas in the name of the ladies of Sierra Leone; and also letters from Messrs. James Reid, John Cambridge, and John Homan; to all of whom I request you to return my thanks.

"It gives me great concern to find, by these letters, that Mr. Facitus, Captain Estwick, and Mr. Collins, have deserted the Province of Freedom, in order to enter into the Slave Trade. By the laws of the settlement, they have forfeited, of course, every right and claim they had to any share in it; and I

* It appears by this address, that the name of *Granville Town* had been given to the *first* settlement, as well as to that which was afterwards formed with the assistance of Mr. Falconbridge.

hope you will be careful that none of them be ever permitted to return, without a very earnest acknowledgment of repentance.

"After having, with indefatigable labour, for above twenty-two years, and at a great expense, asserted and maintained the glorious principles and foundations of the English Law (and having thereby, through the blessing and providence of God, prevented slavery from taking root in England)—and after having also obtained from Government a tacit permission to plant the same noble privileges even in Africa itself, that the new settlement might be *truly* deemed a *Province of Freedom;*—after such a series of labour and expense, as well as of providential success, (the occasion obliges me to repeat it), your sincere Friend, who hopes for your happy and profitable establishment, must necessarily be exceedingly jealous of any deviation from the law of natural right and justice in the Province of Freedom, as men have no right, without these, even to hope for God's blessing. Let me, therefore, exhort you to preserve *exact discipline in your militia*, and a *regular rotation of watch and guard service*, that you may be able to arrest and punish *every refractory member* of your community; and that you hold frequent courts, to assert the *laws of common right and justice*, and more especially against every person who shall have presumed to sell a slave on shore within the bounds of the settlement, or to retain any person as such therein. *Nevertheless, be courteous and kind to all strangers that come to the settlement, even though you know them to be slave-dealers or slave-holders, provided they do not offend your laws during their stay. What is done beyond your boundaries you cannot help or prevent, except the offenders belong to your community; neither must you interfere with others in the least, except by kind and friendly warnings of God's impending vengeance against oppressors; and this only when you have any fair opportunities of mentioning the subject, without giving personal offence.* But with respect to your late members, Messrs. Tacitus, Estwick, and Collins, and *more especially Mr. Henry Demane* (who, I am informed, is now a great man on the Bulam shore, and *a dealer in Slaves!*), warn them, from me, of the horrors and remorse which must one day seize those authors and abettors of oppression who do not save themselves by a timely repentance. Remind Mr. Henry Demane of *his own feelings* under the *horrors of slavery*, when he turned his face to the mast of the ship (into which he was trepanned by his wicked master), and formed a resolution, as he afterwards confessed, to jump overboard that very night, rather than submit to a *temporary slavery* for life; but he is now in danger of *eternal slavery!* Remind him, also, of the joy he felt when he saw two men, sent

with a writ of Habeas Corpus, so exactly in time (most providentially) to rescue him, that a single minute later (as the anchor was up, and the ship under weigh from her last station, the *Downs*) must have rendered his recovery impossible! Tell him I have ample reason to be convinced that his escape was by a real interposition of God's providence, because I once before saved another Negro man (many years ago) from on board a ship also in the Downs, under the same critical circumstances, the anchor being up, and the ship ready to sail. ..... Many other Negroes also I have saved, under such alarming circumstances of danger, that my poor weak endeavours could not warrant even the least hope of success, which must therefore be attributed to the Divine mercy alone; for it would be blind folly, indeed, to suppose that such a succession of improbable facts should be the effect only of accident or chance! Tell him, and also Messrs. Tacitus, Estwick, and Collins, when you have opportunity of seeing them, that the practices of *slave-dealing* and *slave-holding* are inimical to the *whole species of man*, by subverting charity, equity, and every social and virtuous principle, on which the peace and happiness of mankind depend; so that they may fairly be deemed *unnatural crimes*, and ought to be ranked with the horrible unnatural depravity of *man devouring man*. We have the highest authority for this estimation, because the practices of *oppressors* were actually compared in holy Scripture to the cruel rage of cannibals, 'who pluck off their skins from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron.' (Micah iii. 3.)

"I will use my best endeavour to recover the six men that were carried off by Captain W——, as well as to punish the captain for the outrage. However, I hope you will in future be more careful not to interfere in the least with any matter beyond the bounds of your territory; and be sure to maintain a friendly communication with all the neighbouring factories, and more especially with those that are most near, as the King of Rohanna's people, Bance Island, &c.; and avoid all disputes with masters of ships, about the fees for anchorage and watering..... I have no authority to interfere, but am only anxious that you may avoid disputes, and submit to lose your right in this matter, rather than contend for it, if it be refused. It is a point of public consequence, which Government will probably take into consideration in due time.—James Crane and George Stephenson, who, with two others of your settlers (Banks and Chilcot), were clandestinely carried off by Captain Campbell, and narrowly escaped being sold

by him at Martinico, are now here, with their wives, and hope to find an opportunity soon of returning: at present they are supported at my expense. Chilcot, who was also on my list, has behaved very ill, so that I think it would be dangerous to the welfare of the settlement to permit so desperate a man to return to the *Province of Freedom;* where, if your Public Assembly acts consistently with duty, men must be free from *vice* as well as *slavery*. Be pleased to acquaint Mrs. Lucas, and the ladies of the settlement, that I have made earnest inquiry after the Rev. Mr. Fraser, and have not yet been able to find where he is; but as soon as I do, I will take care to procure a proper register of all the marriages.

" I had great disappointment by Captain Taylor's not fulfilling his contract for supplying *live cattle*, and still more by your giving him a certificate of your having received from him goods to the value of forty-seven bullocks, for which I thought myself obliged to pay him. Government has reimbursed the money, and paid me also for the presents made to King Naimbanna for the re-purchase of the land, according to your certificate; and I have deducted from these allowances of Government the 200*l.* which I before received to procure cattle, and received only the balance. Thus you have lost the opportunity of having cattle, by your imprudence in giving a certificate of having received *goods instead of cattle*.

" I am exerting myself as much as possible, to engage several respectable merchants and gentlemen to form a *Company*, in order to carry on an *honourable trade* with the coast of Africa; and I have at last great hopes of success.

" With sincere wishes and prayers for your welfare and happiness, your affectionate friend," &c. &c.

In conformity with the statement at the conclusion of this letter, Mr. Sharp, in the beginning of the following year (1790), printed a public notice of his proposal for the formation of the intended Company (of St. George's Bay), in a short Account of the "*Free English Territory in Africa;*" giving a description of the district purchased by the English Government, and its natural advantages, and also of the nature of the purchase, " by which," he says, " all the *free customs and rights of the English Common Law* must of course immediately take place there, and become (as in England) the most valuable inheritance of the free settlers." But " the present settlers"

he describes as unable, from their character and insufficient numbers, to avail themselves of the advantages of the territory.

"These poor people," he continues, "are in want of many necessaries, and have no religious instruction. They earnestly required in their last letters that some respectable merchants or factors might be prevailed on to settle among them, in order to keep open a constant communication with England by their trade, which, they think, will be a means of relieving their wants.

"A proposal has therefore been made to form a Company of Merchants for the trade of Sierra Leona; and several respectable gentlemen have given their names as subscribers, to promote a measure which may hereafter prove of great national importance to the manufactories and other trading interests of this kingdom*."

Having succeeded in recommending his proposal to the attention of the City, he began without delay to solicit the assistance of the Government in procuring vessels for the Company's first expedition. It will be no surprise to find, at such a moment, the friendly offices of him who was destined to be the future vindicator, in the British Senate, of the cause of African freedom.

William Wilberforce, Esq. to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"I have been speaking at the Treasury respecting the vessels in the condemned hold. I shall be much obliged to you if you will favour me with the names of the particular vessels on which you have an eye.

"I am, my dear Sir," &c. &c.

"Treasury, Twelve o'clock, 25th January, 1790."

* In a note to this little work are the following anecdotes, *(from Punchase's Voyages)*:—"On the south of the bay (of Sierra Leone) is high land, full of trees even to the sea-side, having divers coves, &c. &c. On the farther side of the fourth cove is the watering-place, of excellent water, continually running; at which place, on the rocks, we found the names of *divers Englishmen*, which had been there: amongst the rest, of *Sir Francis Drake*, which had been there seven-and-twenty years before (viz. in 1580); *Thomas Candish, Captain Lister, with others*."—"And Ogilby also testifies, that 'on the island in the river of Serre Lions, the English possessed a small fort, erected for the more secure managing of their trade, which, in the year 1664, the 18th of December, the Dutch, under the conduct of the Admiral de Rutter, with a fleet, without reason surprised and took," &c. p. 376.

From the Same to the Same.

"Dear Sir,

"The vessel in the condemned hold must be sold at a public sale: half the proceeds go to the Rigging Office, half to the King. If you think it worth while (the whole sum for which the vessel will sell being about 140*l.*), I think it probable I may be able to get the Treasury to make a present of their half; and, if you will intimate your wishes to that effect, I will endeavour to expedite the sale of the vessel. I understand it is in high order and equipment.

"Very truly yours," &c. &c.

G. S. to William Wilberforce, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"The Lapwing, in the condemned hold (about forty tons burthen), I am informed, will be completely suitable to be stationed at St. George's Bay, for the coasting traffic; and I earnestly solicit your application to the Treasury, to obtain a grant of the King's half of her value, for the St. George's Bay Company.

"There is also a larger vessel in the condemned hold, named the *Hope*, of about one hundred tons burthen, which would be big enough, on our first trial of the trade, for the ship of communication between England and the new African territory; so that the two vessels together will completely set us up as to shipping for the present. But the Hope is so rigged, that, by the rules of the Custom-house, she must be broke up and pulled to pieces.

"However, as she would be much more valuable to the Company when properly rigged as a brig; and as she has spars, sails, &c that could, at a small expense, be converted into a lawful form of rigging; perhaps, if she should be advertised for public sale, and the Company's agent should be the highest bidder, she might be saved from being broke up, on our engaging to alter the construction to a legal form."

G. S. to the Same.

"Dear Sir, "February 13, 1790.

"I send herewith a few printed copies of the 'Description of St. George's Bay,' and beg leave to acquaint you, that the *New Company* purposes to meet on Wednesday next, at the King's Head in the Poultry, at twelve precisely; and if you shall think proper to honour us with your name as a subscriber, we shall be

heartily glad if you will be pleased to assist us at our meeting, and propose such of your friends as you think would approve of being included in the Corporation.

" The broker employed for the Company was the highest bidder at the Custom-house sale yesterday, for the Lapwing sloop. He thought it right to bid to 186*l.*, which sum I have paid him.

" It is of great importance to the safety of the New Settlement, that the *Charter of Incorporation* should be expedited as soon as possible."

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Memorial of Granville Sharp, Citizen of London, in Behalf of himself and Others,

" HUMBLY SHEWETH,

" That the Black poor, and others, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, who settled on the land lately purchased by your Majesty for their use at Sierra Leona, consisting, by the last account, of about two hundred persons, men, women, and children, are so extremely poor that they cannot effectually avail themselves of the extraordinary natural advantages of that fruitful and healthy district without some further aid; and therefore they have earnestly requested in their last letters, that some merchants or factors might be induced to settle among them, in order to keep up a constant communication between England and the new English territory in Africa, whereby they hope to procure the necessary aid and assistance.

" That your Memorialist, in consequence of this request, has solicited and obtained promises from several respectable gentlemen and merchants of London, that they will form themselves into a Company, and advance their respective shares and proportions of money, to enable them to send proper factors and agents to St. George's Bay, the principal harbour of the new English territory, in order to promote and carry on the trade of the settlement in British manufactures with the Natives of the neighbouring coast and rivers in Africa, provided your Majesty will be pleased to grant them a Charter of Incorporation," &c. &c. &c.

CHAP. X.

IT was in the midst of such zealous and anxious efforts, that, in the month of April 1790, news arrived of the calamity mentioned in the previous narrative, regarding the total dispersion of the settlers and the burning of their town. Mr. Sharp immediately made a representation of the outrage to our Government, and, being admitted to an interview with the Minister, was directed by him to procure information as to the best means of affording relief. This charge was speedily executed.

G. S. to the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. &c. Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer.—[EXTRACT.]

" Right Hon. Sir, " Leadenhall Street, 26th April, 1790.

" Since I had the honour of representing to you the deplorable situation of the poor people that were lately compelled to evacuate the new settlement at Sierra Leona, I have carefully consulted several friends on the best means of affording them some immediate temporary relief at the least possible expense.

" If a vessel was to be chartered on purpose for the voyage, the charges would be very heavy, and time also would be lost in preparation. But as I have lately purchased, through the favour of Government, a small vessel, the Lapwing, of thirty-four tons, intended for the *St. George's Bay Company*, to be employed in the service of their factory in that Bay, in case they should succeed in their application for a Charter; and as they have already engaged a proper master for the said vessel, and a principal factor (both acquainted with the coast), and also some proper assistants, whose salaries are already commenced, it will occasion very little more expense to them, to employ this little establishment in carrying out, and dispensing to the best advantage among the poor people, whatever sum Government shall think proper to allow them; and a much less sum in this way will be necessary, as the Company take upon themselves all the expenses of their own people. It is conceived that, with this assistance of the Company, a sufficient supply, for the present, of necessaries, clothing, and

provisions, from hence, and some few articles of traffic to barter for fresh provisions and other necessaries on the spot, may be procured at the expense of *three hundred* pounds, provided the Government will, in addition, be pleased to order a small armed schooner, or sloop (any that are now actually fitted for his Majesty's service), commanded by a lieutenant of the Navy, to proceed immediately with the Lapwing, for the protection of the poor people, and to keep them together; because the agents at Bance Island profess that it is the interest of their employers that the settlers should all be dispersed, though these gentlemen themselves have always been very obliging, and have frequently informed me of opportunities of writing by their vessels.

"The sending out an armed vessel that is already fitted and copper-sheathed, will not, I conceive, occasion any great additional expense; but it is certainly worthy the consideration of Government, whether it may not be rather more proper to send out at once a stout sloop of war, with a sufficient number of marines, to retake possession of the settlement, and restore the settlers to their houses and cultivated lots of land, lest any foreign power should in the mean time purchase the same land as being now evacuated; for there is not really any spot equally valuable on the whole coast of Africa. If possession is not speedily regained, the Native Chiefs will conceive that the rights of the Crown of Great Britain are superseded by the evacuation; and the French, who have still, it seems, a factory in the neighbourhood, will probably be tempted to purchase the land; for I have just received a very sensible pamphlet from the author, Doctor Lanthenas, an eminent physician at Paris, wherein he strongly recommends to the French nation the immediate establishment of some free settlement, on the coast of Africa, '*like to that*,' he expressly says, '*of the English at Sierra Leona*.'

"The information acquired for the gentlemen associated to promote discoveries in the internal parts of Africa, clearly proves that the establishment of a caravan from the New Settlement at Sierra Leona to Gongee (about six or seven hundred miles distant) would open to us a most valuable internal trade, which at present supports with profit the expense of caravans which travel three thousand miles under great disadvantage; so that the saving and profit of the proposed intercourse would certainly be very great.

"With sincere respect and esteem, Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

The fate of the settlement and the settlers was now in suspense; and, after nearly two months of anxious expectation, Granville renewed his entreaties for their protection.

G. S. to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

" Right Hon. Sir, " Leadenhall Street, June 10, 1790.

" Ever since I had the honour of your permission to address you, in April last, on behalf of the poor settlers at Sierra Leona, I have waited for your answer with earnest anxiety, though without much hope of soon receiving it, being well aware that your whole time of late must necessarily have been employed in affairs of the most pressing national importance. But it is, nevertheless, my duty to inform you, that I have received a letter from Mr. Abraham Ashmore, the present elected Governor of the settlers, dated 13th January last (a copy of which I have the honour to enclose), whereby it appears that the Natives have entirely destroyed all the houses and buildings in the new settlement, and that the poor settlers were removed from place to place, at the will of the agent of the slave-factory at Bance Island.

" Since the date of that letter, however, I have been informed that they have obtained some land from one of the African Chiefs, about nine miles above Bance Island, in the same river, with leave to build houses; that about seventy of them still persisted in keeping together, though much pains had been taken to separate them; that about eight or ten of them, being artificers, were employed at Bance Island; that several more of them were at Rohanna, a town adjoining to the settlement, under King Naimbanna, and that the rest were dispersed on the coast—so that I have no doubt of their re-assembling as soon as their land can be recovered. But if they are neglected much longer, they must perish and fall into the snares of their enemies, the neighbouring *slave-dealers*, by whose machinations their misfortunes have been occasioned, and the advantage of opening a free and honest trade with the internal parts of Africa (as recommended in the proceedings of the Association for promoting Discoveries there, p. 205) will be irrecoverably lost; because it is not probable that ever such an opportunity may offer again of having above one hundred people, inured to that climate and ready on the spot, to adopt and support the free laws of British Government in the new African territory.

" Captain Savage, of his Majesty's ship Pomona, can give full information of the causes which excited the Natives to destroy the settlement, as well as of the very great value and importance of the spot that was purchased, and of the facility of defending it, of which, it seems, he has made very ample observations. His information, therefore, will afford just grounds for Government to proceed upon, in the reinstatement of the poor people, whose good behaviour in the

management of their little government, their trade, and their cultivation, which was just beginning to be in a promising state of improvement, has been highly spoken of by him.

" If it should appear that the Natives have been justly offended by the burning of their town (which was not intended by Captain Savage), and that the retaliation of burning the settlement was ordered by a public palaver or assembly of Native Chiefs, it will not be right to recover the land by force, but by persuasion in another palaver; to state the double purchase of the land by the King of Great Britain, and, consequently, the justice of restoring it to him, and of reinstating his subjects in their former possessions; also the advantages that will arise to the whole country, by an honest trade with the St. George's Bay Company, in the natural productions of their soil. Such a representation, accompanied with a few presents to the Chiefs, as at first, to the amount of about 50*l.* or 80*l.* value, will probably obtain their general consent to a peaceable re-establishment of the settlement.

" I have received a letter from Paris, informing me of two French gentlemen, who are desirous to lay out from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* sterling in cultivating a plantation at Sierra Leone; and, if they can procure land under the British Government, they promise to promote the scheme of cultivating with free people, and to observe all the laws of this realm, as proposed in the Regulations for the new settlement. This proposal, under a proper stipulation with the St. George's Bay Company, not to interfere in their general trade, might form a proper example for future cultivators, that may be highly advantageous to the Company, as well as to the kingdom in general.

" With sincere esteem and respect, Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

Soon after writing the above, Mr. Sharp, having ascertained the real cause of the destruction of the settlement by the Natives*, thought himself bound again to communicate to Mr. Pitt the information he had received, and (after justifying Captain Savage, as totally disapproving of what had been done by the officers of his ship) to retract what he " had proposed in his former letter about *recovering the land by force,*"

" As retaliation is the ordinary law of uncivilized nations, and particularly on the coast of Africa; notwithstanding that our Government has a clear right

* See p. 272.

to do so by the absolute sale and cession of twenty square miles of land by the Natives to the King of Great Britain: but an effectual recovery and possession may be much more easily gained by a *re-purchase*, with the consent of all the neighbouring Chiefs, for a very trifling sum laid out in English manufactures, to be disposed of in presents—viz. probably less than 100*l.* even for an increase of extent;—which conciliating means will best suit the intended purpose of promoting an internal trade with the Natives for the natural productions of their soil—a trade that will probably become of the first importance to the manufactories of Great Britain.

"As the proper season for sending out a vessel to that coast is now at hand, I beg leave once more to remind you of my earnest solicitations in behalf of the poor people sent out by Government, that they may not think themselves entirely abandoned and lost.

"With sincere respect and esteem, Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

The silence of Mr. Pitt to all these letters forced from Mr. Sharp one more effort, on the 28th of August 1790. In a fourth address to that Minister he repeats the opening sentence of his first, of the 26th April 1790, and recapitulates, with a severe and pointed accuracy, the contents of his several letters: he then continues,—

"And it is now my duty to inform you, that the Members of the St. George's Bay Company held a general meeting yesterday, and, having considered the deplorable state of the poor settlers at Sierra Leona, agreed to send out the little *Lapwing* as soon as possible, with a supply of clothing, provisions, &c. to the amount of about 150*l.* (besides the expense of the outfit, and the wages and provisions for their agents and seamen, which will cost them more than three times as much); but as they have not yet obtained a charter to secure them from being injured in their individual capacity beyond the amount of their subscriptions, I could not prevail on them either to attempt a re-purchase of the settlement, or to join in any farther venture for the purchase of a larger vessel, or brig, to carry out the stores and agents.

"It is, indeed, with great concern that I am obliged to add, that this little supply, now proposed to be sent by the *Lapwing*, though it will be very expensive to the Company, will afford but a small temporary relief to the poor people, and cannot either be effectual towards regaining their land (if no larger vessel is sent), or for their future subsistence; so that all the public advantages which might in time, with a little more encouragement, have been very fairly

expected from the settlement, must now be given up, probably for ever. If a Charter, even without any exclusive privileges whatsoever, except that of securing the private fortunes of the members from any demands beyond the amount of their subscription had been obtained, the Company would probably have subscribed very liberally and amply for the recovery and support of the settlement; but the opposition of the Attorney-General to their very reasonable proposal of a limited Charter without any exclusive privileges, has entirely damped their zeal for promoting this most charitable and beneficial public undertaking; and, unless Administration will effectually encourage an application to Parliament for such an unexceptionable Charter, all hopes of farther proceedings must cease.

"I am, with great respect and esteem, Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

This last appeal to the Minister's feelings was seconded by an application to Mr. Rose, Secretary to the Treasury, reminding him of a "very kind promise," which Granville had personally received from him some time before, "to promote the cause of the distressed settlers with the Lords Commissioners;" to which he adds,—

"The next day, having an opportunity of speaking with Mr. Pitt on the subject, I received directions from him to inquire and report to him the probable expense and best means of sending some temporary relief, which in a day or two afterwards I wrote to himself. I have frequently repeated my applications to Mr. Pitt since that time (as the inclosed copy of my last letter to him will inform you), but without receiving any answer; and, as a Committee of the St. George's Bay Company are to meet next Wednesday, to give orders for the sailing of the Lapwing sloop (at their own expense, with a small temporary relief, much too small to produce any permanent good effects), I think it my duty to avail myself of your former polite and kind offer, and earnestly request that you will now be pleased to solicit the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Treasury Board, for some additional relief to the poor Settlers, which at this time would probably encourage the St. George's Bay Company to take some more effectual steps for the recovery of the settlement.

"Perhaps there may be less difficulty in appropriating to this purpose some small part of the money granted last year by Parliament for the settlements on the coast of Africa; and no part of that money, I am sure, can be so properly or advantageously employed, as in the support of a free British settlement on that coast.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

Mr. Rose's reply (as he was out of town) merely referred Mr. Sharp to Mr. Steele, or to Mr. Pitt's private secretary.

In contemplating these circumstances, as related in the last letter to Mr. Pitt, it is difficult to determine, if our pity is more excited towards the Attorney-General who could over-rule the progress of a benevolent plan of high importance to the country, or towards the founder of that plan, who perceived himself deserted by the hands which should still have been stretched out to protect and support him. The latter, however, is the more virtuous object of our compassion. The fond expectation of "*a perfect good,*" which his benevolence and zeal had conspired to raise, was now at an end. He had been unable to establish "the happiest and the freest government on the earth." He found no hope of relief remaining, except in the association of a Chartered Company, to which he might transfer an attempt surpassing his own individual strength—and the prospect of that relief was suddenly blasted by the opposition of the principal law-officer of the Crown!

The following fragment of a letter is apparently written under strong feelings of disappointed hope.

To the Settlers at Sierra Leone.

"Dear Friends, "Wicken Park, 27th September, 1790.

"In April last I received from Messrs. Anderson, proprietors of Bance Island, the melancholy news of your being compelled to leave the New Settlement; and, near the end of April, I received Mr. Ashmore's letter, dated from Bance Island, confirming the unwelcome news, and informing me of your houses at Granville-town being burnt by the Natives.

"Immediately on the receipt of this news I informed the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, the King's First Minister, of the circumstances of your distress; and I was directed by him to inquire, and state to him in writing, the best means of sending out some immediate assistance, which I did three days afterwards, but received no answer, though the Lapwing was then ready for sea.

"I wrote again to him in the beginning of June, and again in July; but the extreme hurry of public business, in preparing for war against the Spaniards, prevented Government from taking any notice of my letters.

"In the beginning of the present month, I received a second letter from

Mr. Ashmore*, dated from Par Boson, and representing your distress for want of necessaries; on which I applied again to Mr. Pitt,—but Government has not yet ordered any assistance.

"All last winter I exerted my utmost efforts to form a Company of Merchants, under the title of the St. George's Bay Company, to carry on an honest and honourable trade with Africa, in order to discourage and supersede the detestable traffic in Slaves. This Company now consists of one hundred members, who would have sent you some relief long before this time, if they could have obtained a Royal Charter of Incorporation, to secure the separate property of the several Members from any claims upon them, beyond the amount of their respective subscriptions to the joint stock of the Company. But the desired Charter is not yet obtained, and therefore the Company cannot enter into any such joint expenses as might be sufficient to procure your re-establishment; but have merely ordered a small temporary relief to be sent by the Lapwing, entrusted to the care of the person appointed to be their chief factor, in case a Charter for a trading Company should at last be obtained: and he is not empowered *to give* you the clothing and provisions now sent out, but merely to supply them gradually, in return for such labour and assistance as you may be able to afford him, or for such African goods or produce as you may happen to have by you, of equal value in exchange.

"He will endeavour to treat with King Naimbanna, and King Jammy, and the other Chiefs, for a restoration of your late settlement on the Mountains of Sierra Leone, which, having been twice purchased of them for the King of England, is now undoubtedly become English territory; so that if they delay to restore it, and should presume to deny the fulfilling the covenants they have signed (including their promises of being friendly to the settlers), they will draw upon themselves a very severe retaliation of vengeance from the King of England, as soon as any of the ships of war can be spared from their present destination. But I hope they will be just and wise, and prevent a war against them, by restoring the purchased land as an act of common justice and right, remembering that the intention of making that settlement was *really* with a view to promote the improvement and welfare of the natives of Africa, as well as for your good and ours;—it being thought the best mode of establishing an honest and honourable trade in the natural productions of the soil of Africa, in return for good English manufactures, and instead of the bloody and wicked trade in their brethren the

* Neither of these letters has been found among Mr. Sharp's papers.

Negro Slaves; for that is an unnatural crime, which, in time, if continued, will surely draw down the vengeance of God on themselves and all the nations that deal with them in that abominable traffic, and perhaps they themselves will at last be conquered, and sent away naked into slavery, in retaliation for the multitudes of poor Blacks that they have wickedly sold to the English, Dutch, and French slave-dealers.

" They should also be reminded, that one of the first promoters of the New Settlement was also the first promoter of the freedom of Africans in England, and has spent large sums of money to maintain the natural rights of Black men on their first coming over from Africa, as well as from the West Indies; so that no Negro or Black man can now be claimed as a slave, in England, or Scotland, or Ireland. Therefore that same *friend to Blacks* thinks he has some right to claim their particular friendship, and that King Naimbanna, and King Jammy, and the other African Chiefs, as being themselves Black men, will favour and promote his endeavours to establish the laws of freedom and natural right in Africa, agreeably to the regulations of the plan intended to have been observed in the New Settlement, as such natural justice will be the most effectual means of promoting their own happiness and welfare."

The following contains many similar sentiments more accurately and cautiously expressed, probably also with better hopes, as the Charter was now on the eve of being granted to the Sierra Leone Company.

To the worthy British Settlers, late Inhabitants of the Territory purchased by the King of Great Britain, in Sierra Leone, called the Province of Freedom.

" Dear Friends, " Leadenhall Street, London, 22d January, 1791.

" The several accounts I received last year of your misfortunes gave me most sincere concern; and much more so, because it was not in my power, as an individual, to send you any immediate assistance, having already sunk above 1400*l.* of my own private fortune in endeavouring to promote your welfare, partly in sending out settlers and farther assistance by the Myro brig in 1788, and partly in assisting poor People of Colour here, who are desirous of going to the settlement, and supporting several settlers returned from thence; which heavy expenses have swallowed up all that I could possibly spare. My hopes, therefore, of promoting your welfare must now rest in the *St. George's Bay Company*—a number of merchants and gentlemen of the first fortune and credit

in London, who have associated to carry on an *honourable trade* with Africa, in such articles only as are the natural produce of the soil, raised or procured by the honest industry of the inhabitants, that the Natives may no longer be tempted to oppress and enslave each other.

" The Company have appointed Mr. Alexander Falconbridge, the bearer of this letter, to be their chief agent; and his brother, Mr. William Falconbridge, to be his assistant. They are strictly enjoined to have no concern whatever in the Slave Trade, to which indeed they are very far from having the least inclination, being both of them sincere friends to the People of Colour, and to the natural and equal rights of men, and lovers also of justice, peace, and quiet; so that you may safely confide in their advice; and be assured that they will do the best in their power to make a reconciliation with the Native Chiefs, that they may restore the land *which they absolutely sold to the King of Great Britain and his heirs for ever.*

" The present intention of the British Government is, to invest the general property of the King's land in the care of the St. George's Bay Company, that it may be better protected for the future; and the Company will grant free lots of land to all the settlers who will engage to support the British Government according to the former Regulations, provided they will promise not to trade with any other merchants than the agents of the Company, who will either purchase their produce at the market price of the country, or permit them to ship it for England on board the Company's vessels, at a reasonable allowance for freight and the expenses of maintaining the factory; and the Company will supply them with British goods at a moderate profit.

" The settlers must also resolve to keep perfect order, peace, and quiet, among themselves, by maintaining a constant guard night and day, by rotation of all the males above sixteen years of age, that all offenders against the peace may be immediately seized and imprisoned, and tried by a jury of the settlers at the next Court: and Courts must be frequently held for the maintenance of justice; for I have received grievous complaints from several individuals among you, concerning the want of due order and justice; and you must attribute the loss of the settlement, in great measure, to that neglect of order and justice, and military discipline, which if you had maintained, and had employed yourselves industriously in forming proper earth-works or trenches round your town, the Natives would not have dared to meddle with you. Your own experience will now sufficiently convince you of the necessity of joining heartily with Mr. Falconbridge, in forming such works of defence as he shall think necessary for

the safety of the settlement, in case he shall be able to recover the land, and, of course, he will pay your wages, according to the value of labour in that country, for whatever time you are employed in the service of the Company.

"Sincerely wishing you success, and that the blessing of God may attend every honest exertion of your industry, (of which I cannot doubt, provided you will sincerely endeavour to maintain his laws of justice and righteousness among you,) I remain your constant friend and humble servant,

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

The foregoing documents have fully shown the virtuous endeavour of a Christian to establish and uphold *a state of entire social freedom and justice.* Hourly observation of the world forbids us to wonder that his pure views found insuperable obstacles in the adverse interests amidst which he attempted to establish it, as well as in the vices and errors of the very men for whose sake the experiment was made. With men of whatsoever description, casually selected from their kind, hopes of such a nature must have proved equally fallacious; more especially while the experiment was to be supported by the power only of a single hand. Granville, vigilant and resolute, maintained the guard of his enterprise to the last moment of possible safety, and then submitted with humility to his defeat, convinced that he had aimed at an achievement beyond the grasp of mortality.

His enthusiasm differed in this point from the feverish fervour which too often assumes its name. His *hopes* were frequently eccentric, his *expressions* of them nearly as much so: his *conduct* was that of temper, of prudence, of *rational hope,* and diligent precaution. But although his strong mind perceived the necessity of having recourse to the accessory strength of the Company, which was now formed and incorporated by an Act of Parliament, he must have been more or less than man not to have regretted the demolition of that ideal fabric of happiness, which he had wished to raise for an afflicted portion of mankind. The Writer of these Memoirs has witnessed the struggle of his mind on this occasion: yet his memoranda contain no remarks of this nature; and once only on paper such remarks appear to have escaped the fence of his piety and courage, in a letter

to a friend whose name is not mentioned; and even then the communication appears less to have been voluntary, than extorted by feelings of personal regard, and an anxious concern for the health of the friend to whom he writes.

" Sir, " Leadenhall Street, London, 5th October, 1791.

" Dr. Lettsom having informed me that you have again expressed a desire to receive from me some accounts respecting the new settlement on the coast of Africa, for the sake of the poor free Blacks in America, it is necessary for me to acquaint you that I long ago, on your first requisition, wrote out for you a very full account of it, which probably never reached your hands. Having afterwards received similar applications from John Jay, Esq. in behalf of the Blacks at New York, and from the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, in behalf of the Blacks at Rhode Island, I sent to both these gentlemen copies of what I had written for you, and several copies also of the printed Regulations; so that the free Blacks of America have not wanted information on the subject: but I suppose the accounts they have since heard of the many disadvantages that the poor settlers have laboured under for want of pecuniary asssistance, and their subsequent misfortunes, may probably have prevented any further application from these gentlemen; and the inducements to go thither are still further curtailed (at least I apprehend they will be deemed so in your esteem) by the new Act of Parliament in favour of the Sierra Leone Company; because the community of settlers, though they are now restored to their actual possessions in the settlement, are no longer *proprietors of the whole district* as before, as the land has been granted, since they were driven out, to the *Sierra Leone Company;* so that they can no longer enjoy the privileges of granting land by the free vote of their own Common Council, as before, nor the benefits of their former Agrarian Law, nor the choice of their own Governor and other officers, nor any other circumstances of *perfect freedom* proposed in the *Regulations:* all these privileges are now submitted to the appointment and controul of the Company, and no settler can trade independently of it.

" I am very sure that such restraints cannot accord with your ideas of perfect liberty and justice. But I could not prevent this humiliating change: the settlement must have remained desolate, if I had not thus far submitted to the opinions of the associated subscribers. However, all slavery, and the oppression of involuntary labour, are absolutely prohibited, and the laws of England are to be established. I hope to prevail on the Company to

bind themselves to reciprocal conditions in trade; to furnish goods at certain fixed profits to all settlers equally, without respect of persons, and to purchase their produce on equal terms; in order to make amends for the monopoly, and to make it their interest to maintain the mutual terms inviolate.

" To yourself I mention these very disagreeable circumstances with less chagrin and reluctance than I should do to any body else, because I think they must deter you from all thoughts of removing to Africa, which would be attended with a considerable risk of health, as well to yourself as to your amiable and accomplished partner; so that your removal, under the present circumstances, would not be justifiable."

&c. &c.

CHAP. XI.

THE accomplishment of the Charter put a close to the laborious and unprecedented efforts of an individual, during four years, to support an undertaking of such extraordinary magnitude; and although that individual may be naturally supposed to have remained the most warmly attached of any to an enterprise of which he was the source, he thenceforward only shared in exertions, of the most laudable and arduous nature, with men, whose devotedness to a cause which they conceived to be interesting to humanity and important to religion, through an unremitting course of personal attention, fatigue, and risk, may be thought to merit precedence even in the high distinction so long possessed by England for her virtuous philanthropy.

During the first period of the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company, appear the following:—

MS.—" May 3. Committee of Sierra Leone Company.
" July 13. At twelve o'clock at the London Tavern: chosen Director, with twelve more of the Sierra Leone Company.
" July 14. Committee of Directors at Mr. Williams's."

In the election of the Company's officers, the compliment, so often paid to Mr. Sharp on other occasions, of placing him in the chair, was here omitted, as the philanthropic object of the settlement had by many been deemed so highly visionary, that it was judged advisable to elect a chairman, whose ordinary connections with concerns of more acknowledged substantial foundation might seem to authorise the expectation of success. The person chosen was the late Henry Thornton, Esq. afterwards Governor of the Bank.

But although Granville stood thus mingled with the general body,

on an equal footing with all, and with the common title only of *Director*, a superior respect, attached to his name, distinguished him among the colonists of Africa. An instance of the influence of *character* will be found in the following anecdotes.—

Naimbanna, the sovereign chief of Sierra Leone, was of a disposition little correspondent to the opinion, which prejudice had impressed on Europeans, of African manners and tempers. He was peaceable, benevolent, desirous of knowledge, and of affording protection to all who were capable of imparting it. The first settlers at Granville-town opened to his view new prospects of improvement. Among the Negroes who had returned to Sierra Leone, was Elliot, his secretary, who, while in England, had learned to read and write our language, through the customary kindness of Mr. Sharp; and his proficiency in letters excited in Naimbanna a great desire of obtaining the advantages of an European education for his sons. It has been seen, by Elliot's letter to Mr. Sharp, that Naimbanna offered to appoint a school, to be placed under his superintendance; and this offer being declined, the King sent one of his sons to France for instruction, and another was placed under a Mandingo teacher, a Mahometan: the eldest son, John Frederick, having resolved to make his way to England for the same purpose, was on the point of concluding an agreement with the master of a slave-vessel for his free passage thither, when the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, arrived at Sierra Leone. Naimbanna, having witnessed that officer's upright and respectable conduct during his stay in the settlement, readily consented to his son's desire of embarking in the Company's ship on her sailing for England, in spite of the strongest remomstrances from the neighbouring Chiefs.

He had made the fullest inquiries into the details of the establishment at Sierra Leone, and was sensibly affected on learning its real motive. The original author and promoter of it appeared to him an object of veneration; and when he consigned his son to the hands of Mr. Falconbridge, he charged him at the same time with a letter addressed to *Granville Sharp*, entreating him that he would in all things direct the education of the young prince.

The following extracts from his letter will show the amicable and generous sentiments of an African sovereign.

" It has been told, that these people, the free settlers from England, would in time drive me by force of arms back in the country, and take my post from me. I have received several accounts, from factories and captains of ships, against the settlement, which I took no notice of, as I conceived it was, in my opinion, spite or envy that they had against their living in this country; but have served the settlers in any little request they asked of me, and have endeavoured to keep peace between them and my people, and also among themselves, by settling a great many disquiets between them. It was pleasure to do it, as I thought they would become useful to us all in this country, by teaching us things we do not know; and common reason must tell, that the most ignorant people in the world would be glad to see their country made good, if they had idea how it might be done.

" And again, I must let you know, that, if there were no other reason for my wishing for the welfare of the settlement, I should do it, that there might be a stop put to the horrid depredations that are so often committed in this country by all nations that come here to trade. There are three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, who were carried away by one Captain Cox, captain of a Danish ship; their names as follows—Corpro, Banna, and Morbour. These were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any person of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due; so I only let you know of these lads, that there will be an account taken of them one day or another.

" As to the settlers, I could only wish that you will send me over one worthy of taking the care and command of the place; then you need not be afraid of their prospering in this country. Mr. Falconbridge, during his time out here, I approved much. I ever was partial to the people of Great Britain, for which cause I have put up with a great deal of insults from them, more than I should from any other country.

" My son, I hope, you will take care of, and let him have his own way in nothing but what you think right yourself*."

Mr. Falconbridge arrived in England with his charge on the 22d of September 1791; and the Directors, moved by the friendly disposition

* Reports of Sierra Leone Company.

of Naimbanna, adopted immediate measures for procuring to his son those advantages of which he justly entertained hopes from our country. Mr. Sharp's answer will show with what feelings of mind Naimbanna's proposal was received by himself, and with what consequences it was attended.

To King Naimbanna, King of Rohanna.

" Sir, " November 11, 1791.

" The extraordinary proof you have been pleased to give of your good opinion and confidence in me, by entrusting your son, by Mr. Falconbridge, to my charge, demands my best endeavours to fulfil your good intentions as amply as possible; and, even if I had not before thought myself under great obligations to you for your kind and very friendly conduct toward the poor Black settlers at Sierra Leone, whose interest I have had so much at heart, and who have repeatedly (both in letters to me, and many by word of mouth) acknowledged your continued favour and condescending behaviour toward them, in conversing with them sometimes like a father,—I say, even without all these incitements to a grateful return on my part toward your son, yet his own natural good disposition, modesty, behaviour, and great diligence and application to learning, would alone be sufficient to ensure my esteem and regard for him.

" On his first arrival in London, Henry Thornton, Esq. the Chairman, or chief presiding Director, of the Sierra Leone Company of Merchants, very kindly invited him to his house; and, as Mr. Thornton is a gentleman not less distinguished by his virtue and amiable qualities, than by his ample fortune and rank in life, I thought myself happy that your son should see so good an example.

" Mr. Thornton, and the rest of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, have undertaken the charge of paying a proper tutor for the education of your son. Mr. Thornton recommended the Reverend Mr. Gambier, of ——, in Kent, about forty miles from London, to be entrusted with the charge; but before I consented to entrust your son to his care, I received a very strong testimony of his good character from two English Bishops, not less eminent for their learning, piety, and diligence, than for their high station in the Church of England.

" I shall deliver to Mr. Falconbridge a letter from the Consul-General of the Danish Nation, residing in London, to the Governor-General of the Danish Factory on the African coast, instructing him to make particular inquiries after your three

relations, who were stolen, and carried away by a Danish ship. And I purpose to write to you more fully on the subject of the Slave Trade by the next ship.

" I remain, with great respect and esteem for your worthy character, your humble servant,

" G. S."

The promised letter to King Naimbanna was afterwards sent to Sierra Leone.

Mr. Sharp's MS. Notes contain little mention of the young Naimbanna, except the frequent recording of his name (as in the case of Omiah) at different dates, by which he appears to have been diligent in his attendance on him.

This youth was just twenty-nine years of age; and, some time after his arrival, was baptized by the name of *Henry Granville*, Mr. Thornton and Mr. Sharp being his sponsors. The account given of him by two clergymen, who successively superintended his education, is such as demonstrates a disposition every way worthy of cultivation*. In capacity, he does not appear to have been below the general class of

* " A desire of knowledge was the predominant feature in his character: he would continually urge his instructors to prolong the time of their reading together. He was forward in declaring his obligations to every one who would assist him in the acquisition of useful learning: he would express regret if he had been led into any company where the time had passed away without improvement; and when it happened that he was left entirely to himself, he would employ not less than eight or ten hours of the day in reading. Though the disadvantages arising from the long neglect of his mental faculties were apparent, he showed signs of very good natural sense: he had also a faculty at distinguishing characters; and his mind, as might naturally be expected, was ready to receive impressions from those persons of whom he had conceived a good opinion. He had few advantages of person, but he was uncommonly pleasing in his behaviour, showing much natural courtesy and even delicacy of manners: he was also of a kind and affectionate disposition. He was quick in all his feelings, and his temper was occasionally warm; some degree of jealousy also entering into his character: in particular, he was indisposed to answer questions put to him by strangers concerning the state of his own country; for he was apt to suspect that they meant to draw comparisons unfavourable to its character; and he would therefore, on such occasions, often turn the conversation, by remarking, that a country so unfavourably circumstanced as Sierra Leone had hitherto been, was not to be supposed capable of having made any attainments worthy of being the subject of conversation in Great Britain."

The following anecdote will show the extreme sensibility which he felt, when any circumstance arose which touched the honour of his country; and it will also explain the grounds of his peculiar jealousy on this subject:—

The name of a person having been mentioned in his presence, who was understood by him

mankind. "He learned, in the space of a year and half which he passed in England, to read very fluently, and to write a letter in English without much difficulty. The alteration which, during the same time, took place in his mind, was also very great. The peculiarities which have been ascribed to Africans in general, had evidently subsided. He was deeply impressed with religious principles, and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures. His morals were pure, and he showed at all times a strong abhorrence of profane conversation and every kind of vice *."

Very sanguine hopes were naturally entertained that the education of the son of an African Chief in England might be of the greatest assistance in cementing a confidential union between the people of his country and the European colony of freedom; and the young Naimbanna appeared likely, both from his abilities and disposition, to lend the most important aid in introducing the improvements of science, and the comforts of civilization, into Africa.

to have publicly asserted something very degrading to the general character of Africans, he broke out into violent and vindictive language. He was immediately reminded of the Christian duty of forgiving his enemies; upon which he answered nearly in the following words:—'If a man should rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can forgive him; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in slavery in the West Indies, I can forgive him;—but' (added he, rising from his seat with much emotion,) 'if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him.' Being asked why he would not extend his forgiveness to those who took away the character of the people of his country, he answered: 'If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or sell; but, if any one takes away the character of Black people, that man injures Black people all over the world; and when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to Black people ever after. That man, for instance, will beat Black men, and say, *Oh, it is only a Black man, why should not I beat him?* That man will make slaves of Black people; for when he has taken away their character, he will say, *Oh, they are only Black people—why should not I make them slaves?* That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them; and if you ask him, But why do you take away all these people? he will say, *Oh, they are only Black people—they are not like White people—why should not I take them*? That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country.'"—*Report*, 1794.

A similar account is given of him in a letter from Granville Sharp to his brother Dr. Sharp, 23d September, 1791.

* Report, 1794.

The dispensations of Providence forbad the continuance of these hopes. The spring of the second year had scarcely arrived, during the progress of his education, when Mr. Sharp received the following note :—

" Thursday, 17th April, 1793.

" Mr. Naimbanna presents his compliments to Mr. Granville Sharp, and is sorry to inform, that letters have been received this morning which mention the death of his very dear father. His son, however, has, in his affliction for his loss, a pleasing hope that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, and that his soul is happy. Mr. Naimbanna takes the first opportunity of mentioning it to his friend Mr. Sharp, because he knows he shall have his tenderest sympathy."

This unfortunate event induced the young Prince to return home. The following month he took leave of his protector, and set out for Rohanna.

PS.—" 18th May. Parted with Mr. Naimbanna about three o'clock at Fulham."

Mr. Naimbanna to Granville Sharp, Esq. Garden Court, Temple.

" Dear Sir, " Plymouth, 23d May, 1793.

" Since I arrived at Plymouth, I have greatly wished to write you, pursuant to my promise made you before I left London, which I have been prevented from doing by my engagement with my kind friends here, all of whom have received me with great pleasure.

" The Naimbanna is ready for sea, and will proceed for Sierra Leone as soon as she can procure her proper papers from the Custom-house, which I hope will be soon. I purpose to write you again on my arrival at Sierra Leone ; and assuring you that I feel sensibly your great attention to me, I beg leave to conclude myself

" Your most sincere friend,

" H. G. NAIMBANNA."

This amiable youth did not reach the abode of his family. Two or three days before the vessel arrived at Sierra Leone, he was seized with illness, and died within a few hours after landing at Free-town. A suspicion arose among his countrymen that he had been

poisoned during his voyage; and a long palaver was held, which terminated in an entire removal of their apprehensions. Naimbanna's mother, no less alive to the sentiments of regal generosity than her husband or her son, withdrew the charge which had been brought against the captain of the vessel, and, coming herself to Freetown, with expressions of the utmost confidence in the Governor and Council requested them to take another of her sons under their protection *.

* "According to the information of a servant of the Company, who sailed in the same ship with the young Naimbanna, he had left Plymouth in perfect health; but as soon as he reached a warm climate, he began to feel a slight complaint in his throat, and occasional pains in his head. His mind was at the same time anxious and uneasy, for he was evidently dismayed at the prospect of those difficulties with which he expected that he should have to combat after his return. Numberless were the plans which he amused himself with devising, for the purpose of spreading Christianity, and opening the eyes of his rude countrymen; but he seemed constantly to be tortured by the idea that something would obstruct his designs; and the dread of disappointment seemed to press upon him more strongly in proportion as he drew nigh to his native shores. The heat also began to affect him very violently, and a fever ensued, which was attended with delirium. In one of his lucid intervals he desired the person who gave this account, to assist him in making his will, by which he entrusted his property to his brother, for the use of a young child, his son; and he introduced into the will an earnest request that his brother would exert every endeavour to put an end to the Slave Trade. When he reached Sierra Leone he was insensible of every thing that passed, and his life was despaired of. His mother, together with some younger branches of the family, came down to the Governor's house, where he was laid, and, after a few hours' attendance on his dying bed, they saw him breathe his last. The Governor and Council mention, that nothing could exceed the agitation and distress shown by his mother on the event of his death."

"Thus terminated the days of this amiable and enlightened African, from whose exertions, if he had lived, the Company might have expected the most important and extensive services. It may be remarked, however, that, notwithstanding his untimely and much to be lamented death, he has rendered at least one important service to his country, by furnishing a memorable instance of the effect of education on the mind of Africans, and a most encouraging and happy omen in favour of his benighted countrymen."—*Report of the Sierra Leone Company, 27th March*, 1794.

CHAP. XII.

THE history of the colony from the time of these events has been related in the previous narrative. A few of Mr. Sharp's papers refer to it at various periods.

Some time after the barbarous invasion of the settlement by the French, he received a printed apology for the conduct of France, which he thus notices in a letter to Mr. Macaulay, Governor of Sierra Leone.

" I had intended to send you a small printed tract, which was brought to me from France by a Swedish gentleman. It was drawn up and read in a public Committee by Bishop Gregoire, a man of benevolence and learning: it is a panegyric on the principles and intentions of our English settlement at Sierra Leone, wherein he apologizes for the hostile attack which his countrymen, the French, had lately made upon it, and which he asserts was by no means intended by the French Government."

During the progress of the Company, continuing anxious to promote the welfare of the settlers to the utmost of his own power as an individual, he sent a large collection of Bibles and other books, for the use of the schools and library at Sierra Leone. He continued also to send such tracts as he had either written or collected on subjects which he conceived to be of importance to the actual state of the colony.

G. S. to Zachary Macaulay, Esq. Governor of Sierra Leone.—[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Garden Court, Temple, 29th September, 1796.

" Enclosed I send you a copy of the memorandums annexed to several of the articles in the catalogue of books which I sent to the public library some time ago, as perhaps some of the hints may be useful, more especially those

relating to the forming towns and townships, agreeably to a printed plan, (No. 52.)

" I send you also two copies of the Appendix to No. 49, which consists of short forms of prayer; as I believe you will find that much decorum will be added to public meetings on business, if you make a point of requiring that prayer shall precede all public business, but more especially previous to the administration of justice in the courts of law. There are also forms for morning and evening prayer, which, though very short, comprehend the most essential points.

" I am," &c. &c.

G. S. to William Dawes, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Garden Court, Temple, 13th November, 1800.

" I send you two dozen copies of the Extract from Dampier, concerning fruit-trees, and one dozen copies of the tract on Maple Sugar, which I promised, that you may disperse them among such industrious people as will be likely to make a proper use of them. I have likewise sent you a tract on Congregational Courts, wherein the system of frank-pledge is explained; and two more copies of my plan for laying out towns and townships, wherein you will find a remark, in pp. 14, 15, which shows that frank-pledge is so strongly enjoined as a part of the English Constitution by Magna Charta, that it would be illegal to lay it aside in the new colony, now that it has been once re-established by the authority of the Directors. If you establish the ancient *watch* and *ward* by a regular rotation of all the inhabitants, making the householders of each tithing and hundred responsible for the neglects of the inferiors whom they respectively pledge, you will soon find an adequate power to restrain and punish the refractory, who are but few in comparison of the whole body of householders. And it will be prudent to make the *watch guard* the regular supporters of the civil power, and to enforce, *under the sheriff*, the writs of the court; and never to call out the regular military force unless there be an absolute necessity, but to reserve them as a proper check for the last extremity: their presence in the settlement will encourage the majority of the settlers, whose true interest is peace and quiet, to oppose the refractory with more confidence in the support of Government, if they are not irritated by any military arrangement." &c. &c.

A letter, addressed to the Chairman of the *Company*, on the subject of *adultery and divorce*, is also among his papers, designed

for the instruction of the settlers; and two memoranda on subjects of *religion and government,* sent with the collection of books to Sierra Leone; the whole furnishing additional documents of his unceasing earnestness to spread the light of Christianity and the benefits of useful knowledge over the world*.

* Mr. Sharp appears to have taken a very early charge of the instruction of the Negro settlers. The following letter bears the date of the year in which they first sailed for Sierra Leone. It is evidently the composition of some person better acquainted with the construction of the English language than the poor Negro slaves can be supposed to have been, but probably displays the *sentiments* of those whose names are subscribed to it, and it *proves* how earnestly their instructor had endeavoured to instil into their minds the principles of religion.

The Address of Thanks of the Sons of Africa to the Honourable Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Honourable and Worthy Sir, " December 15, 1787.

" Give us leave to say, that every virtuous man is a truly honourable man; and he that doth good hath the honour to himself: and many blessings are upon the head of the just, and their memory shall be blessed, and their works praise them in the gate.

" And we must say, that we, who are a part, or descendants, of the much-wronged people of Africa, are peculiarly and greatly indebted to you, for the many good and friendly services that you have done towards us, and which are now even out of our power to enumerate.

" Nevertheless, we are truly sensible of your great kindness and humanity; and we cannot do otherwise but endeavour, with the utmost sincerity and thankfulness, to acknowledge our great obligations to you, and, with the most feeling sense of our hearts, on all occasions to express and manifest our gratitude and love for your long, valuable, and indefatigable labours and benevolence towards using every means to rescue our suffering brethren in slavery.

" Your writings, Sir, are not of trivial matters, but of great and essential things of moral and religious importance, worthy the regard of all men; and abound with many great and precious things, of sacred writ, particularly respecting the laws of God, and the duties of men.

" Therefore, we wish, for ourselves and others, that these valuable treatises may be collected and preserved, for the benefit and good of all men, and for an enduring memorial of the great learning, piety, and vigilance of our good friend the worthy Author. And we wish that the laws of God, and his ways of righteousness and truth, set forth and described therein, may be as a path for the virtuous and prudent to walk in, and as a clear shining light to the wise in all ages; and that these, and other writings of that nature, may be preserved and established as a monument or beacon to guide and to warn men, lest they should depart from the paths of justice and humanity; and that they may more and more become a means of curbing the vicious violators of God's holy Law, and to restrain the avaricious invaders of the rights and liberties of men, whilever the human race inhabits this earth below.

" And, ever honourable and worthy Sir, may the blessing and peace of Almighty God be with you, and long preserve your valuable life, and make you abundantly useful in every good word and work! And when God's appointed time shall come, may your exit be blessed, and may you arise and for ever shine in the glorious world above, when that Sovereign Voice, speaking with joy, as the sound of many waters, shall be heard, saying, ' Well done, thou good

After Naimbanna's return to his country, the son of another African Chief, who resided in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, visited England for instruction; and, besides the advantages which he reaped in that respect from the bounty of the Company, appears to have received from Mr. Sharp the usual kindness of attention which he was so ready to bestow. A letter from the person here mentioned affords a specimen of African disposition and intellect.

Anthony Domingo to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Worshipful and dear Sir, " Freetown, June 3, 1797.

" With affectionate gratitude and respect, I beg leave to present you with these few lines. My great and long absence from you makes me very solicitous concerning your welfare. Natural affection inclines me strongly to have you in remembrance, tendering your welfare in every respect very dear to me.

" I have no other way of expressing my gratitude at present, than by my hearty thanks to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, for giving me education and bringing me to the knowledge of God. May the blessing of God attend them on every occasion! I shall ever acknowledge with gratitude the obligations I am under to the Divine Being for bestowing on me such pious and virtuous friends.

" The distance at which Providence has placed me from you, has neither

and faithful servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!' It will then be the sweetest of all delights for ever, and more melodious than all music! And such honour and felicity will the blessed God and Saviour of his people bestow upon all the saints and faithful servants who are redeemed from among men, and saved from sin, slavery, misery, pain, and death, and from eternal dishonour and wrath impending upon the heads of all the wicked and rebellious.

" And now, honourable Sir, with the greatest submission, we must beg you to accept this memorial of our thanks for your good and faithful services towards us, and for your humane commiseration of our brethren and countrymen unlawfully held in slavery.

" And we have hereunto subscribed a few of our names, as a mark of our gratitude and love. And we are, with the greatest esteem and veneration, honourable and worthy Sir, your most obliged and most devoted humble servants,

" OTTOBAH CUGOANO.
JOHN STUART.
GEORGE ROBERT MANDERVILLE.
WILLIAM STEVENS.
JOSEPH ALMAZE.
BOUGHWA GEGANSMEL.
" JASPER GOREE.
GUSTAVUS VASSA.
JAMES BAILEY.
THOMAS OXFORD.
JOHN ADAMS.
GEORGE WALLACE."

made me ungrateful nor undutiful. When I left England, I felt a violent struggle in my mind between inclination and duty. I could have wished to have spent my advanced years in that place where I first obtained your acquaintance. But I hope I shall be one of the numbers that shall teach my countrymen; to convince them of the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; to guard them against temptations, to build them up in most holy faith, and to prepare them for eternal happiness."

&c. &c. "ANTHONY DOMINGO."

G. S., in reply.—[EXTRACT.]

"Your letter of June last affords me great satisfaction; for I am confident that the just principles you have expressed, if you are careful to continue in them, will not only secure your own peace and solid satisfaction, but also be serviceable to others; for even bad men will approve a good example in others: so that practical worth, when sincere and unaffected, is more persuasive than the most eloquent language, and affords the best instruction to all around us."

&c. &c.

The only remaining documents of Mr. Sharp's action relative to his colony, are such as exhibit him twice pleading in behalf of the unfortunate and misguided settlers.

After the first insurrection had been suppressed (in 1794), he appears as the advocate for those *personally*, whose *cause* he condemned, in the concluding part of a letter to the Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company.

G. S. to Henry Thornton, Esq.—[EXTRACT.]

"26th November, 1794.

....." I must likewise request, that, agreeably to the promise in my letter, which you approved, to the Sierra Leone settlers [who were sent prisoners to England], very particular directions may be given to Governor Dawes, or the Government at Sierra Leone, to protect, and also to grant some reasonable allowance to subsist, their wives and families that are left at the settlement.—I have still something more to propose on behalf of these men, but am fearful I shall not easily obtain the general concurrence of the other Directors, who are so

extremely intimidated with the apprehension of a farther insurrection in the colony. But I do not at all conceive that there would be the least occasion to fear the return of these men, provided due caution be taken that the rest of the settlers (and more especially the persons who return in the next ship, and have actually petitioned in their behalf,) shall pledge their future good behaviour, and take care to separate the offenders into several different hundreds at the settlement on their return. It would be a still farther security for their good behaviour, if the Governor would undertake an active part of soliciting their liberation, on condition of their earnestly promising to behave peaceably hereafter. It is magnanimous to forgive injuries; and I should never fear any bad consequences from the performance of this first of Christian duties, under reasonable caution to prevent mischief; but I should have real apprehension from persisting in a refusal to pardon in the present case. Governor Dawes's kind interference in good time, to obtain their pardon from the Company on due promise of submission, and leave to return as soon as their release can be obtained, will remove all difficulties and dangers."

A second letter, of much later date, is of the same nature. It shows him still struggling to preserve the original privileges of the colonists, and solicitous for lenient measures towards them, when they acted under mistaken views of the conduct of their protectors.

It appears, from the Reports of the colony published in March 1814*, that an unpleasant misunderstanding had taken place respecting the militia law, and that, in consequence, many of the Maroons had withdrawn themselves from the settlement.

G. S. to the Right Hon. General Maxwell, Governor of Sierra Leone.

" Right Hon. Sir, " Garden Court, Temple, Dec. 22, 1812.

" Having been the first proposer of forming the settlement at Sierra Leone, and having also been, for many years, one of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, I think it my peculiar duty to represent to you the probable cause of that discontentment which has lately been manifested by the Maroons at Sierra Leone, under your government. But, in the first place, it is necessary for me

* Eighth Report of the Directors of the African Institution.

to inform you, that the merit of the Maroons, in their zealous and effectual defence of that new colony, when it was attacked by a numerous body of the neighbouring African Chiefs, ought never to be forgotten. The Maroons have always been remarkably industrious in the cultivation of their lots of land, much more than any of the other settlers; and, therefore, when they are withdrawn from their profitable labours, to be drilled under martial law, instead of the only true constitutional means of defence, the English frank-pledge, which in the books of our Common Law is entitled 'the chief and greatest security' (*summa et maxima securitas*), and in which the householders elect all the officers (except the Governor and chief magistrates) who command them (without the King's commission,)—a glorious privilege, which was *absolutely promised to them* by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company—so unhappy a deprivation of it must necessarily occasion much discontent among them. The Sierra Leone Company, indeed, have since resigned their management of the colony to his Majesty's Government; but as the English frank-pledge is the essential branch of the English Constitution declared by Magna Charta, which all the Kings of Great Britain are by oath at their coronation bound to maintain, it is not easy to conceive that there can be any real intention to deprive the King's subjects in Sierra Leone of that most essential privilege, which was promised, and really established there by the Company.

"The Act of Parliament by which the Sierra Leone Company was incorporated (viz. 31 Geo. III.), a copy of which I send herewith, very prudently limited the establishment of the frank-pledge, so that it cannot interfere with the supreme Government of the colony.

"The Directors of the Company were empowered 'to make laws for the government of the colony,' (p. 8), and 'to appoint a Governor and Council,' (ibid.); and that 'the Governor and Council may make laws, which shall have effect until disallowed by the Directors'—viz. 'laws not repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm,' (p. 9);—'that a Mayor and three Aldermen should be incorporated by the name of the Mayor and Aldermen of Freetown,' (ibid.); —'that the Governor and Council be Justices of the Peace, and hold Quarter Sessions, and be a Court of Record,' (p. 30.)

"All these laws and privileges were fully established in the colony; and a short sketch of temporary Regulations was drawn up by myself, as being one of the Directors of the Company: and several printed copies of it were sent to the Governor and Council of the colony, to be placed in the public library; a copy of which is also sent herewith. (See No. 3.)

"I am impressed with a most sincere respect for yourself, Right Hon. Sir, for your zealous, constant, and most excellent conduct, as Governor of Sierra Leone, in defending the rights of poor injured Africans; and am, with sincere esteem,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

It is satisfactory to add, that, by the benevolent exertions of Governor Maxwell, these deluded men were induced to return to the settlement, and regained possession of their property.

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART IV.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART IV.

MR. SHARP'S MEANS OF EXPENDITURE.—VARIOUS TRUSTS.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE—ITS PROGRESS—MR. WILBERFORCE SUPPORTS THE CAUSE IN PARLIAMENT—BILL BROUGHT IN BY MR. FOX AND LORD GRENVILLE.

MR. SHARP'S CONDUCT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY.—ANECDOTES OF MR. PITT RELATIVE TO THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.—AFRICAN INSTITUTION.—PROTESTANT UNION.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART IV.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

IN the arduous attempt to found the colony of Sierra Leone, if we compare the great expenses, necessarily incurred, with the slender fortune of the Founder, it seems difficult to account for the means by which he was so long enabled to prosecute his benevolent enterprise. Besides the heavy charges defrayed by the Government at his solicitation, he on various occasions advanced considerable sums, far exceeding his income, and it is not immediately evident from what sources he drew his supplies. The profits acquired in his situation at the Ordnance must long before have been expended. In 1780 he received a small increase of wealth by a legacy from a relation*. In 1783, on the death of his beloved brother James, the widow having been left with the care of a business of large extent, wholly out of the province of female attention, he undertook the entire management of it, and, for that purpose, left his brother William's house in the Old Jewry, (which had till then been his home,) and became an inmate with his sister-in-law in Leadenhall Street, where

* MS.—" 1780. Mrs. Prowse (formerly Elizabeth Sharp), the eldest daughter of my uncle John Sharp, died this summer at Berkley in Somersetshire, and left me five hundred and fifty pounds, naming me also, at the end of a long entail, for estates in Northamptonshire and in Lincolnshire."

the business was then carried on. He conducted this new department with his accustomed good sense and diligence, for more than six years, until the whole concern was finally arranged and closed, and the widow was at liberty to retire into the country. During the term of his management he received a liberal stipend from the business.

But as neither of these circumstances brought him an accession of property at all adequate to the expenses of the plans in which he engaged, may it then be imagined that so virtuous a man found others of congenial character, by whose assistance (concealed at their request) he was provided with means to carry on his designs?—Something of this nature has been seen in his letters*.

From the liberal friendship of his family he derived a further power of occasional exertions. The generous tender of a constant provision in the houses of his brothers, William and James, has before been mentioned. An annual sum was at first placed at his disposal, and to this act of kindness they soon afterwards added the refined attention of making over to him, from their own funds, a fixed sum in *capital*, instead of income, in order to preclude any feelings of conditional dependence on their bounty. This capital could be employed in aid of his plans; and there is reason to believe, from what he says of the diminution of his private fortune, that he devoted a large part of it to the exigencies of his undertaking †.

In 1787, just at the commencement of the Sierra Leone enterprise, an additional source of means came unexpectedly into his hands.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

" Dear Brother, " 31st October, 1787.

" As every thing that nearly concerns me is equally interesting to all my dear brothers and sisters, I ought sooner to have informed you of a small

* To Dr. Lettsom. Account of the colony at Sierra Leone, p. 315.

† In the first planning of the colony at Sierra Leone, it does not appear that any large expense was contemplated, beyond the aid which Government had consented to give. The following is an extract from a letter from Mr. Sharp to his brother at Durham, in June 1786:—

" I enclose an account of the intended settlement in Africa. I have promised to give twenty-five pounds towards procuring land. About fifty pounds, it seems, are wanted. Government will be at the expense of sending and fitting out the settlers. If the Trustees of Bamburgh would give another twenty-five pounds, they would do a great act of charity."

addition to my income, by the will of my late worthy friend Mrs. Oglethorpe, who died last Friday at her seat at Cranham Hall, in Essex. I am appointed one of her executors, and am also joined in two separate trusts; so that a great deal of my leisure must necessarily be taken up; but, in recompense, she has left me the Manor of Fairsted in Essex, *with a recommendation to settle it in my life-time to charitable uses after my death*, leaving the appropriation to my own direction and choice*. I shall be very anxious to have the best advice, and most mature consideration, how I may most advantageously dispose of this little estate for public charity after my death."

That the income derived from this bequest was employed on the African settlement, is an obvious conclusion.—*These* were his whole resources. Regularity, economy, and parsimonious self-denial, must have supplied the rest.

The legacy of Fairsted brought with it a new duty, and, of course, presented a new scope of action to Mr. Sharp's beneficence. After settling the several charges on the estate, he directed his attention to the ultimate views of the testatrix, and reduced to method a design which, he informs his brother, he had "long had in idea, of promoting a *General Asylum* in London, as a means of uniting more effectually and usefully some of the established charities."

"The London Workhouse was intended for something of this kind by Bishop Ridley; but the plan failed for want of proper regulations, though the City has still power to raise contributions for it from all the London parishes. Here, then, must be the foundation of my offer to the City, as a *nest-egg* for more charity."—*Letter to Dr. J. Sharp*†.

* The estate was left by Mrs. Oglethorpe to Granville Sharp, Esq., his heirs and assigns, for ever; with a *recommendation to him to settle it during his life-time to the benefit of some charitable establishment after his decease;* and at the same time *expressly enjoining him to reserve the possession and profits of the estate to himself during his life.*

† "Bishop Ridley's intentions for Bridewell also," adds Mr. Sharp, "are by no means effectual for the desired good, through want of farther regulations. The poor wretches are confined, whipped, and then turned loose more wicked than they were when they went in, for want of separate confinement, and for want of encouragement to work.

"The plan of a General Asylum may be a means of correcting both these charities, and may therefore justly demand a considerable aid from both."

His next care was to print his plan*, and to submit it to the inspection of his friends, as appears from a letter to Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Salisbury :—

" My Lord, " 21st May, 1789.

" The advocates for slavery have said much of the superior hardships of our own poor at home; and as I have not been less anxious to promote their welfare than that of the poor Negroes, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's correction the enclosed plan for a General Asylum; and I request your consideration and advice upon it, because I am very anxious to promote to the best advantage the trust that is put upon me," &c. &c.

The plan, however, did not proceed with quickness proportionate to his zeal. The occupation of his thoughts on the perilous concerns of his Sierra Leone colony, probably precluded any very effective attention on his part to other objects. It is not till the close of his individual exertions in support of that undertaking, that his customary activity appears in the farther search for some charitable establishment, on which he might settle the contingent benefits of the Fairsted estate.

In maturing his plan, his principal attention was directed to a point in which the defect of our police has long been a subject of just regret.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

" 14th September, 1790.

" I am endeavouring to bring forward, as fast as I can, the plan of a public charity, but more especially one branch of it, *the asylum for the females*, to be employed in spinning linen and woollen thread and yarn in the London Workhouse, where there is a noble building ready and fit for the purpose, and where there are, at preseut, only about thirty children, though it is capable of accommodating four or five hundred."

Agreeably to these intentions, his first especial offer was made, not long afterwards, to the Corporation of London.

* " Soon after I received the above-mentioned trust, I printed a plan for a public charity in the nature of a General Asylum for the poor, in separate classes, proposed to be under the management of the City Magistrates, assisted by an united Committee of Governors, to be elected by the Governors of all the Royal Hospitals, without interfering with their respective establishments."—*Letter to the Committee of the Corporation of London.*

In 1791 he addressed a letter, dated April 18, to the Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the London Workhouse; in which, after expressing his conviction "that the *Corporation for the Poor of London* were already invested with ample powers to fulfil all the principal objects which he had in view, in his plan for a General Asylum," he submitted to them a proposal for a reform of the London Workhouse, in order to the more effectually "protecting, instructing, and employing the poor in that establishment." To this plan he subjoined an offer of the first reversion of the manor of Fairsted, and such *conditions of the gift* as he thought most conducive to the success of his designs. On the day following he received a deputation from the Committee, to consult with him respecting the general purposes of their appointment; and in the beginning of the following year he writes thus to the Marquis of Lansdown:—

"My Lord, "January 29, 1792.

"I take the liberty to send your Lordship the account of another charitable plan, *the proposed reformation of the London Workhouse*, which the Common Council have now adopted, and have summoned me to meet their Committee next week, in order to consult on the means of carrying it into execution."

The meeting, however, ended unfavourably to his wishes*.

He does not appear, from the commencement of this transaction, to have been fully aware of the legal impediment which the testatrix had raised to the completion of her own intentions, by the particular conditions annexed to her bequest.

The further account of his efforts to discharge his trust shall be related by himself.

* In the meeting here mentioned, I have been informed, by a Member of the Committee still living, that Mr. Sharp was anxious that the proposed Regulations, which had received the assent of the Corporation of London, should take place without delay; and he proposed, that, until the manor and estate of Fairsted should, by his decease, revert to the Corporation, they should appropriate an annual sum, such as they should judge proper, to the purposes of the charity, in order, as he stated, "to set an example to other public bodies, city companies, and individuals," &c. But the Corporation did not deem it prudent to incur such an expense, until they should be actually put in possession of the intended gift, either by Mr. Sharp's decease, or by his transfer of the estate to them during his life-time. The subject, therefore, was wholly dropped.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, President of the Society for the Conversion and religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the West India Islands.

" My Lord, " 14th January, 1795.

" I have lately been informed that your Lordship has obtained a Charter for the establishment of a Society to promote the Instruction of Negro Slaves in the British Colonies, and that a foundation is thereby laid for forming a most respectable body of trustees, whereof your Lordship, as Bishop of London, is the President, with full powers to accept the reversions of lands, to be appropriated, after the death of the donors, to that charitable purpose, *notwithstanding the existing laws against mortmain.*

[" The Bishops of London, having for many years been charged with the spiritual concerns of all the British colonies, must frequently have been impressed with anxious concern for the unhappy case of myriads of poor Heathens, held in hopeless ignorance and slavery, within the bounds of their jurisdictions; and of course must have lamented the want of proper means to provide for the religious instruction of these poor oppressed people, as well as their own want of due influence, at so great a distance, to urge and promote it. And some even worthy predecessors of your Lordship may (through the misrepresentations of mercenary colonists, and other interested persons connected with them, respecting the care and attention of the masters toward their poor Heathen labourers) have probably been induced to consider the Slave Trade, and slavery, rather as the means of introducing poor Heathens to the knowledge of the Gospel under Christian masters, than as illegal oppressions, which the odious terms *Slave Trade* and *Slavery* imply, and, through this vain pretence of the colonists, have been deluded to think more favourably than they ought of our *national delinquency* in tolerating slavery. But the contrary effect has been notorious: instead of instructing their slaves to become Christians, the masters themselves, by illegal trust of an unlimited dominion over their poor brethren, have generally acquired all the vicious depravities of the worst of Heathens; and the almost total neglect of religious instructions to their slaves is sufficiently known. Of late, indeed, some few itinerant Moravians, and also well-meaning enthusiasts, have laboured to instruct the poor Heathen strangers, and with astonishing success; but not at the expense of the masters, as it ought to have been; for these poor itinerant missionaries are chiefly supported by subscriptions in England, which I have endeavoured to promote.]

" Your Lordship's attention [therefore] to the charitable work of instructing

the Slaves in our colonies, is particularly seasonable at this time, and perfectly accords with the sacred duties of your high and important episcopal charge. And I sincerely hope that this worthy design may be liberally promoted by the affluent, and by all persons that can afford to contribute.

" As to myself, I have very little to spare at present, but I have considerable to offer in reversion for futurity; which I mention with the less reserve, because I do not consider my present intentions as my own charity, but only as a continuation of my unremitted efforts to fulfil a trust devolved upon me by a worthy deceased friend, who gave me an estate, to be bestowed after my decease *on some public charity*, leaving me entirely at liberty in the choice of the charity. I speak of the estate and manor of Fairsted in Essex; the reversion of which I offered some time ago to the City of London, in trust, for the *encouragement of voluntary labourers* at the *London Workhouse*, that a due distinction might be made between industrious people, when they cannot obtain employment, and the idle and vagrant poor, who are the proper objects for Bridewell Hospital; but, more especially, I insisted on the protection and employment of honest and industrious females*, (women servants out of place, and poor girls), who seek an honest employment, to learn the art of spinning wool, if not already taught; and to be encouraged in their diligence by whatever profits may arise from their labour, beyond their estimated proportion of the general charge of maintenance and house-expense. The Court of Aldermen and Common Council ordered my letter to be printed and sent to all the members of that court, that the terms might be considered; but some difficulties were apprehended, chiefly, I believe, respecting the Mortmain Acts, which prevented the acceptance of them.

[" I next turned my thoughts to some new regulations for the better employment and improvement of the unhappy females at *Bridewell Hospital*†. Spinning has been since introduced, and several other improvements, but an asylum for honest and industrious females cannot, with propriety, be annexed to that charity.]

" I do not at present know of any other established public charity more worthy my attention, than that which your Lordship has proposed for the

" * I mention more particularly these endeavours in behalf of honest and industrious females, because I consider their protection as a very important charity, and wish to recommend it to your Lordship as a secondary object for the appropriation of the revenues of yonr Lordship's trust, in case the primary object should cease by a general enfranchisement of slaves, which there is ample reason to expect."—*Note to Letter.*

† Mr. Sharp was elected a Governor of Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals, on 30th Nov. 1786.

instruction of Negro Slaves in the Colonies; and I am, therefore, willing to present to your Lordship, and the other Trustees for that Charity, by a proper deed of gift, the next reversion of my whole estate and manor of Fairsted, containing about three hundred and fifty-eight acres of valuable freehold land of my own, besides a considerable extent of freehold and copyhold lands, held by the manorial tenants, on the payment of several small quit-rents and occasional fines, of the Manor of Fairsted; two small charges only remaining on the estate. But I wish to create a small additional charge, to provide for the instruction of the poor children in the parish of Fairsted itself, in reading, working, and spinning, as a mere matter of justice to the poor labourers of the soil from whence the revenue arises; for it would seem a gross partiality to send away the whole revenue of the little district for the instruction of foreigners, excluding the poor natives of the manor from the same advantages: and therefore I hope that this additional charge, being under the same trust as that for the instruction of Negro Slaves, may fairly be considered rather as a reasonable and allowable part of the ordinary expenses of the estate, than as a distinct charity. I wish also to reserve, under the same trust, about fourteen acres of land, to be distributed or let, from time to time, in small portions among the poor cottagers of the parish, for gardens or potatoe-grounds, under particular regulations, which I have to propose, while they hold no other land; for without such small portions of land, mere labourers in agriculture can scarcely subsist, since they have been deprived of the benefit of common land: so that this second proposal may also be fairly allowed, as a necessary branch of the ordinary expenses of the estate, towards the due support of the poor labourers by whom it is cultivated, and not as a distinct charity. These two additional charges to the estate, I propose, not only as a kind of duty I owe to the natives of it, but also as humble examples to promote similar arrangements on other estates; because I conceive that whatever will most effectually promote the increase of population in any district or manor, (I mean increase only among industrious and orderly people,) must be an effectual means of increasing also the value of the landed property in that district; and surely a due constant regard and provision for the instruction of the labouring poor, as well as for their comfortable existence, which are the only objects of my two additional charges on the estate, seem to be the most natural and obvious means of producing these desirable effects.

["Indeed, some such regulations are too generally wanted throughout England, for the relief of the poor cottagers—I mean chiefly those that are employed

as mere day-labourers in husbandry, whose wages are now become utterly inadequate to the enormously increased prices of all the necessaries of life, and in many counties are not sufficient to purchase the necessary food and clothing for the families even of the most industrious and hard-working men: so that the condition of this most useful and necessary class of the people is certainly too much reduced, and requires some general reformation, more especially as the unfeeling advocates of the Slave Trade are continually vaunting the superior condition of the colonial slaves to that of the labouring poor in England:—a comparison as unjust as it is odious; because the English labourer is protected at least from all personal ill-usage and outrage, by equal laws; and when the scanty pittance of wages (though not half that is due from his employers) is expended, he is entitled to demand some additional support for his family from the parish where he lives. (Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that it is extremely unjust that an industrious man, who labours hard six days in every week, should be subjected to this latter most humiliating circumstance, and thereby lose his elective rights as an English householder, merely because his wages are inadequate to the necessary expenses of a family. The case of day-labourers in husbandry most certainly demands redress, though not by any means so deplorable as to admit of the least comparison with the detestable oppression of the poor strangers under our colonial bondage, which is even worse in many respects than the hardened Egyptian tyranny of old, and its retribution must also be more signally awful).]

"If the proposed conditions should be approved by your Lordship and the rest of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable Trustees, I shall immediately prepare an irrevocable deed of gift of the next reversion of my whole estate and manor of Fairsted, to be presented to your Lordship, as 'President of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.'

"With sincere respect, my Lord, &c. &c."*

* The original copy of this letter contained a full detail of his first progress in the liberation of Negro Slaves (inserted in a former part of the Memoirs), and many remarks on the Slave Trade, which being considered by the Bishop as extraneous to the immediate purpose of the letter, it was re-written, with the omissions desired by his Lordship, and enclosed to him in a manly address, which the reader will find among other papers of a similar nature in the ensuing chapters.

N. B. Two or three paragraphs, inserted between brackets [ ], are here restored from the original, because they relate to facts explanatory of Mr. Sharp's conduct, in the endeavour to discharge the charitable office bequeathed to him by his friend.

Two days after the date of the foregoing letter, appears the following:—

MS. "1795, Jan. 16. Lambeth Palace. The Bishop of London accepts the trust of Fairsted estate."

Nevertheless, this attempt also to settle the reversion, agreeably to the humane views of the testatrix, failed of success.

"The Bishop," says Mr. Sharp in a letter to a friend, "consulted some of the highest authorities in the profession of the law; who were of opinion that the business could not be established, because of the laws against Mortmain; which was nearly the same opinion that had before been given by the Recorder and City Officers."

In the same letter he relates a subsequent experiment, in which he appears to have given away a part of the revenue during his life-time, but of which the future provisions are not mentioned.

"But I have already disposed of a few acres of land, by way of experiment, in favour of another very different charity. The land is laid out in small lots, as *cottage-land*; some lots consisting of one acre and a half, but mostly of one single acre only: which lots are let to a few farmers' labourers (those that have the largest families in the parish) at a low rent; the income of which is expended in the instruction of all the poor children in the parish, whose parents cannot afford to pay for their schooling. The number of children, in general, has been from fifteen to twenty; and the cottagers are perfectly contented, and pay their rents most thankfully *."

Mrs. Oglethorpe was not the only person who imposed on Mr. Sharp the task of providing for a charitable establishment. About the year 1791 he was named a trustee also by Joseph Wilcox, Esq. (son of the bishop of that name) who left by will a large sum towards endowing an hospital for the county of Kent; and, in pursuance of the testator's wishes on the occasion, he obtained a grant of the

* This experiment is in part proposed in his letter to the Bishop of London. The result of it does not appear.

The estate and manor of Fairsted have been reclaimed by the heirs of Mrs. Oglethorpe since Mr. Sharp's death, and are now in their possession.

remains of Rochester Castle from the proprietors* for that purpose. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his advice "for the more effectually promoting the intended charity," discloses these particulars.

Nor was the great repute of Mr. Sharp's philanthropy productive of applications merely of a private nature. Integrity of character exerts a resistless influence, which is extensive in proportion as time and opportunity render its possessor an object of notoriety. In the tumultuary movements which had begun to agitate France, he was addressed by several of the most virtuous members of the National Assembly; and he held a continued correspondence with Brissot, La Fayette, Roland, and others, among the principal abbettors of the first revolution, on the most important concerns, expressing his opinions with his usual sincerity and benevolence, and taking a deep interest in their success.

In his admonitions to the new reformers, the most solemn and emphatical warnings respecting West Indian slavery, were not omitted; and their effects were seen in the declarations of the French Republicans on that subject.

The advance of the great work, of which he had long before laboured to lay the foundation in his own country (as important to the general interests of humanity as to the character of England), now demanded his attention.

* Lady Ducie, Mr. Dent, &c. the representatives of Mr. Child's house.

CHAP. II.

THE mischiefs which had befallen, and the danger of entire destruction which had more than once menaced, the infant colony of Freedom in Africa, were, in great part, to be ascribed to the unshaken vigour in which the detestable Slave Trade still continued to flourish. A free settlement, supported by industry and national commerce, seemed likely gradually to undermine and eventually destroy the sordid traffic, by opening the eyes of the African chiefs to their own superior interests, and showing them that the produce of social labour was a far greater source of wealth to their revenues, than the captivity and sale of their subjects. What wonder, then, if the slave-traders set every engine to work, to irritate the natives of Africa against the new colonists, to undermine them in their turn, and to pervert the ends of benevolence?

"—Out of good still to find means of ill."

But Providence, in its mercy, was now about to cut the thread of long-suffered iniquity, and to comfort and strengthen those whom it had chosen to be advocates on earth for their fellow-creatures.

After numerous and unwearied endeavours on the part of the Quakers in America, and of the zealous Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England, in behalf of the wretched, and till of late unpitied, victims of men who degraded humanity; the time had arrived, when it appeared to be within the bounds of hope, that an association of benevolent persons, protected by a congenial movement in the British Parliament, might lead to a retrieval of the human character from the ignominy of the Slave Trade.

Endeavours were therefore used to collect, and unite in one body, the various parties who had severally, and almost independently of

one another, begun to make exertions of a similar nature; and in the spring of 1787 especial meetings were convened of a few men of eminent character, all of whom were friendly to the cause. One of their meetings was held almost in the same month in which the little fleet set sail, which carried the first banner of English liberty to the coast of Africa; and it was at this meeting that an event took place, which gave preponderance to the scale of African freedom. Mr. Wilberforce was there solicited to take the lead in a parliamentary effort for the *abolition* of the cruel traffic in our species; and, in that communion of benevolent minds, the corresponding impulse of his heart prompted him to yield a ready assent to an engagement of no common magnitude*.

The first important point being happily secured, the next step was to arrange measures for prosecuting the scheme in such a manner as should be most conducive to the great end in view. Many days did not elapse before the design was carried into execution. On the 22d of May, a Committee was chosen, consisting of twelve members, whose *declared duty and purpose* it was to promote, by every means in their power, an *abolition of the traffick in the human race.* Granville Sharp was included in the Committee.

* The meeting was at the house of Bennet Langton, Esq.; the persons present were, Sir Charles Middleton, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Hawkins Brown, Mr. Windham, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mr. Boswell. Mr. Clarkson remarks, that Sir J. Reynolds and Mr. H. Brown gave their *unqualified approbation of the abolition of the trade.* Mr. Windham and Mr. Boswell spoke on the same side, though they afterwards became inimical to the cause.

The following are among the reasons given by Mr. Clarkson for considering Mr. Wilberforce as the most proper parliamentary leader in the cause of the Abolition.—

"His habits of diligent and persevering inquiry made him master of all the knowledge that was requisite for conducting it. His talents, both in and out of Parliament, made him a powerful advocate in its favour. His character, free from the usual spots of human imperfection, gave an appropriate lustre to the cause, making it look yet more lovely, and enticing others to its support. But, most of all, the motive on which he undertook it, insured it progress: for this did not originate in views of selfishness, or party, or popular applause, but in an awful sense of his duty as a Christian. It was this which gave him alacrity and courage in his pursuit. It was this which, when year after year of unsuccessful exertion returned, occasioned him to be yet fresh and vigorous in spirit, and to persevere till the day of triumph."

History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The incipient labours of the Association were cheered by an important coincidence, which occurred at this time. The efforts of the humane Anthony Benezet, and other American Quakers, had, by gradual advances, at length effected a general manumission of slaves among the whole body of men of their persuasion; and the year 1787, in which the Committee was appointed in England for promoting the abolition of the trade, was the first year distinguished in America by the gratifying circumstance of *there not remaining a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker*. The superstition of ancient times would have hailed this coincidence as an auspicious omen; the sensibility of modern ones perceived its influence.

Eleven years had now elapsed since the criminality of the Slave Trade was first adverted to in the House of Commons. It was in 1776, that a motion was made by Mr. David Hartley, (a son of the celebrated physician and metaphysician, and) member for Hull, the purport of which was, "That the Slave Trade was contrary to the laws of God and to the rights of men." The motion was seconded by Sir George Saville. But the proposition failed entirely of support, and its very memory had nearly vanished. It was now resumed with a happier prospect. The trials which had occurred with regard to Negroes in this country, had awakened a very general attention to the subject of African slavery; and although prejudice to a great degree, and interest to a much greater, still guarded the ground "with Gorgonian terrors" against the attempts of the philanthropists, considerable access to liberal minds had been gained by the assiduous and affecting eloquence of these new pleaders in the cause of humanity. They could not, indeed, address themselves so long in vain to the naturally reflective disposition of our nation*.

* "Mens' minds," says Mr. Clarkson, "began to be impressed with the moral necessity of the abolition of the Slave Trade; an impression which had been gradually brought on by the public labours of Mr. Sharp; and several had become inclined to unite for the extirpation of this gigantic evil." *History of the Abolition.*

The progress of this humane, and finally powerful association, is so well known from Mr. Clarkson's faithful and interesting history, that it will merely be requisite, in this place, to give such a summary notice of its actions, as may serve to connect the thread of Mr. Sharp's Memoirs during his participation in its labours. The rapid progress of public sentiment is deserving of our attention.

The Committee for effecting an *abolition of the Slave Trade* assumed its denomination in June 1787, and immediately dispersed circular letters, giving an account of the Institution. These letters soon procured the friendly notice of the Quakers at large; and a deputation also from the *General Baptists* informed the Committee of their wish and intentions to labour with them in the cause of human freedom. A correspondence was likewise quickly opened with the Societies established at New York and Philadelphia for the Manumission of Slaves and Abolition of Slavery.

In order to diffuse a more general knowledge of the subject, the Committee deemed it right to adopt the publication of a work which Mr. Clarkson had presented to them, entitled, "A summary View of the Slave Trade, and of the probable Consequences of its Abolition." Numerous copies of this useful tract were dispersed, and the curiosity of the public became every day more excited by the authentic information thus unexpectedly laid before them.

The new class of *moral revolutionists* in France warmly espoused the cause of the abolition. Brissot, and Claviere (his friend and afterwards his fellow-sufferer under Robespierre's tyranny), requested to be admitted members of the Association.

The well-known John Wesley and Dr. Price next appeared as correspondents, with expressions in the highest degree friendly; and a letter from the Rev. Robert Boucher Nicholls, dean of Middleham in Yorkshire, was ordered by the Committee to be printed, and five thousand copies to be dispersed.

Dr. Watson, the bishop of Landaff, also added his support.

In October, the Society adopted their present seal, which

represents *an African in chains,* kneeling on one knee, and lifting both his hands in the act of supplication, with this motto,—"*Am I not a man and a brother?*" This simple but striking design appeared to have a very extensive effect.

About the end of November, two thousand more copies of Mr. Clarkson's tract were printed, and the Society's circular letter prefixed to each. All these having been eagerly accepted by the individuals to whom they were addressed, new impressions were ordered of the circular letter, to the number of three thousand, prefixed to lists of the subscribers to the Institution; to which were added, one thousand five hundred copies of Benezet's *Account of Guinea,* three thousand of the Dean of Middleham's Letter, five thousand of Mr. Clarkson's Tract, and two thousand of another work of the same Writer, "on *the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species.*"

Excited by this effective circulation of all the knowledge, which the Committee continued to collect, on the subject of the Slave Trade, the feelings of a generous people soon began to be openly expressed. Meetings were called in various towns to discuss the information which had been thus diffused; and by the middle of the ensuing February, (1788,) thirty-five petitions, praying for the Abolition of the Trade, were presented to the House of Commons. New correspondents had in the mean time presented themselves to the Committee of the Society; among whom were Dr. Horne, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Dr. Bathurst (afterwards bishops of Norwich); Mr. Lambert, of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Dr. Hinchcliff, bishop of Peterborough, who presented a plan, called "Thoughts on the Means for abolishing the Slave Trade." Mr. Newton, also, the rector of Saint Mary Woolnoth, in London, who had in his youth been in Africa, addressed to the Committee "Thoughts on the African Slave Trade," of which three thousand copies were ordered to be printed.

The extensive disclosure of public sentiment was no less felt by the Government than by the Society itself; and in the same month of

February, the King, by an Order of Council, directed that a Committee of Privy Council should sit as a Board of Trade, "to take into consideration the present state of the African trade, particularly as to the *manner of obtaining Slaves*, their *importation* and *sale* both in British and Foreign settlements, and the *consequences* of the trade to the *commerce* of the kingdom."

In the sittings of this Committee of Privy Council, no less than one hundred and three petitions were presented from various places and bodies of men, including the city of London, the two Universities, the large manufacturing towns, whole counties, the several dioceses of the Established Church, the Quakers, and Dissenters of other denominations. Additional letters and offers of service were (among others, nearly at the same time) received from the Rev. C. Wyvil; from Archdeacons Plymley and Paley (both proposing assistance in the great cause); from Dr. Sharp, prebendary of Durham; Dr. Woodward, bishop of Cloyne; and from the Marquis de la Fayette, who informed the Committee of his intention to establish a similar Society in France. The two latter persons having solicited to be admitted associates, were accordingly enrolled among the honorary and corresponding members of the Society *.

Numerous other letters from various parts announced intentions of calling public meetings, to petition the Parliament in favour of the desired abolition.

The examinations before the Committee of Privy Council still continued, and the time was now approaching when it had been proposed to bring the subject forward in the House of Commons The anxiety of the members of the Abolition Society was of course great, and their utmost diligence was exerted in maintaining the correspondences which had been so usefully and honourably opened.

* The fervid earnestness of an unknown individual should not here be omitted. Two letters, preserved by the African Institution, whoever was the writer of them, do honour at least to his heart. In the first he offers an immediate payment of 500*l.*, if the Slave Trade *can be at once abolished*; and in the second he *doubles* his offer to the same effect.

They learned with great satisfaction, that the Society which had been proposed at Paris, for abolishing the Slave Trade, was actually established; that Condorcet was the president; that the Duke of Rochefoucauld and the Marquis de la Fayette stood first in the list of the members, and were followed by Petion, afterwards mayor of Paris, and other men of eminence.

New correspondents, also, continued to present themselves, among whom was Mr. Jay, the president of the Society before mentioned at New York; and the exertions of the Committee required a still greater degree of labour and attention. Additional works, which were esteemed useful to their cause, were printed, and more than nine thousand copies of different tracts were distributed in the most extensive manner possible. Sub-Committees were formed, who were charged to draw up a just statement of all the facts and arguments that had been brought forward against the Slave Trade, with a view to their translation into other languages, in order to give foreigners a suitable knowledge of the subject, as well as to confute many false reports which had been maliciously propagated concerning the object of the Institution.

One of the most powerful weapons that had been employed against the efforts of the Society, was a pamphlet entitled "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade." The writer was an Ex-Jesuit, of the name of Harris, who was at that time a clerk in a slave-house at Liverpool, and employed as a mercenary on the present occasion. His pamphlet was now ably answered by the Rev. James Ramsay, vicar of Teston in Kent, who had resided nineteen years in the island of Saint Christopher, and in that time had been a frequent eye-witness of the cruel treatment of the Negroes.

Unfortunately, during the continuance of these important transactions, Mr. Wilberforce was deprived by illness of the power of attending, or in any manner assisting, the Committee in its anxious progress; and two-thirds of the session of Parliament had, from this

cause, passed by, without any step having been taken in the House of Commons to advance the claims of the Society on the attention of the public.

But the alarm experienced from these circumstances was unexpectedly relieved by a message from the Prime Minister to the Committee, desiring a conference with their Chairman, and by the subsequent assurance which they received of his intentions (on account of Mr. Wilberforce's absence through indisposition) to bring forward the subject himself in the House of Commons. Agreeably to his promise, on the 9th of May, 1788, Mr. Pitt proposed for the consideration of the House the actual state of the Slave Trade, and, reserving wholly his own opinion on it, desired merely to pledge the House to a full discussion of the subject in the next session. This motion, though agreed to, disappointed many, who were impressed with a belief that the general feelings of the members of Parliament, excited as they had been by the copious statements of African sufferings, would have secured the immediate abolition of the trade, *if Mr. Pitt's heart had been with his words.* A *secondary* motion was therefore introduced by Sir William Dolben, for leave to bring in a Bill to relieve the condition of the Negroes *during their passage* from Africa to the colonies, which was represented as miserable in the extreme, from their being unwholesomely crowded, and "crammed *like herrings*" into the ships in which they were transported. The bill passed, after much opposition.

The Abolition Committee now renewed their efforts, both by further researches, and by attention to their correspondences. They made applications to France and to Sweden, which latter kingdom was represented as particularly likely to derive advantages from an abolition of the trade by England. They added also to the list of their correspondents many men of the most respectable names, among whom were Dr. Franklin, president of the Society at Philadelphia; the High Sheriffs of Huntingdonshire, Yorkshire, and Herefordshire; and Mr. Evans, on the part of the elders of several

Baptist churches, forming the Western Baptist Association; Mr. Irwin, of Grenada; and Mr. J. L. Wynne, of Jamaica.

The "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade" were, at the same time, farther answered by the Rev. Mr. Hughes of Ware, and by Mr. William Roscoe; and numerous copies of these answers were printed by the Society, and dispersed as usual.

A Report was then printed of the motives and proceedings of the Society.

CHAP. III.

MR. WILBERFORCE's health being improved during the recess of Parliament in 1788, his recovery was hailed as a favourable omen to the progress of the cause.

Among the new honorary members elected into the Society at this period was the present learned Bishop of St. David's, who had lately published a work of high importance to its general interests*.

Information was also received of the appointment of Committees in various towns of the kingdom, to assist the views of the Society; at Bristol, Manchester, Pool, Plymouth, and Exeter; and the same at Edinburgh. But the particular efforts of the Committee were directed to the maintenance of their correspondence with the different states of the European continent, and with America.

The meeting of Parliament in the following year renewed the hopes and fears of all parties. On the 19th of March, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce rose to make his expected motion; and the 23d of the next month was fixed for the important discussion. The day was afterwards changed to the 12th of May. On that day Mr. Wilberforce moved for the consideration of the numerous petitions presented to the House against the Slave Trade; and a Committee of the whole House immediately proceeded with the subject. Mr. Wilberforce submitted to the Committee twelve propositions, leading to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The discussion was resumed on the 21st, and continued on the 26th, 29th, and on the 9th June; when, by the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, and in consequence of the numerous delays that had been opposed, a motion was made for deferring the

* "Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, on the Grounds of natural, political, and religious Duty."

further consideration of the subject to the next session of Parliament.

A second year of delay being thus procured by the intrigues of interested avarice, the Bill for regulating the *Middle Passage* was renewed.

The Committee, at the same time, published a plate, representing the section of a slave-ship, with the slaves stowed in it for the Middle Passage*. It presented a sight of horror, sufficient to convince the spectator, that, under whatever regulation, the conveyance of slaves in our ships was a work of cruelty and profound barbarism.

During the interval of the parliamentary session, the zealous Clarkson, at the request of Mr. Wilberforce and the Committee, set out for Paris, in order to promote the interests of the *Abolition* with the National Assembly. He was there cordially received, and his proposals seconded by men of the highest reputation; by Necker, Siéyes, Mirabeau, La Fayette, Condorcet, the Duke of Rochefoucauld, Claviere, Brissot, the Bishop of Chartres, and the Abbè Gregoire. Mirabeau prepared to make a motion in the National Assembly for the immediate abolition of the trade. But the same ingenious engines of malice were employed in France, as in England, to impede the success of the cause; and Mr. Clarkson was under the necessity of returning to attend the Committee in England, before any effectual step had been taken in Paris for the Abolition.

In the early part of the next session of Parliament (1790), Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the consideration of the Slave Trade, and, not without opposition, obtained leave to establish a better mode of dispatch, in regard to the examination of evidence on the subject. The session ended without further advance in the great cause of humanity, and the Committee made their second Report, which they concluded by lamenting the powerful combination of interests against which they had to contend, and protesting against the

* The original design of this engraving was made by the late Mr. Northcote, of Plymouth, a brother of the eminent painter. The present plate was improved by the most accurate dimensions of the vessels generally employed in the Slave Trade, as well as of the human bodies confined and manacled within them.

false alarms which had been spread in public to impede and prevent their progress in so great a national cause.

The labours of the Committee during the period that ensued were of the most arduous kind. They spared neither pains nor expense to procure fresh evidences in support of their cause, which they had now too much reason to consider as declining. Their evidence was collected, printed, and circulated; and in April 1791, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his attempt in Parliament, and moved for leave to bring in a "Bill to prevent the farther Importation of Slaves into the British Colonies in the West Indies."

The discussion, however in itself favourable to the general cause, was not crowned with the success that had been hoped. The motion was rejected by a majority of votes, and the Committee felt the severest and most painful mortification. But Mr. Wilberforce himself, and several other members of the House of Commons, had pledged themselves never to desert the great cause which they had undertaken; and the Committee, rousing itself from despondency, renewed its labours. They procured an abridgement of all the evidence that had been collected with such infinite pains, printed it in one volume, and circulated it throughout the kingdom. Its effects were nearly instantaneous. Mr. Clarkson, in traversing England at this time, found every where the great mass of inhabitants ardently embracing all the means in their power to aid the prospect of the Abolition. Among other means, an abstinence from the use of sugar (as the produce of the labour of slaves) became so general, that the number of those persons who wholly forbore even its occasional taste amounted at one time to no less than three hundred thousand. Meetings were called, and petitions followed from all parts; three hundred and ten were presented from England, one hundred and eighty-seven from Scotland, and twenty from Wales.

On the 2d of April following (1792), Mr. Wilberforce made his fourth motion, to the further effect, "that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished."

It was in the debate which ensued on this motion, that the arguments in favour of the Abolition were strengthened by the powerful evidence derived from the new settlement of Sierra Leone, and stated by Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman, who ended his speech by remarking on the nature of this traffic in slaves: "It had," he said, "unfortunately obtained the name of *a trade*, and many had been deceived by the appellation; but it was a *war*, and *not trade:* it was a mass of *crimes*, and *not commerce:* it *alone prevented* the *introduction of trade* into Africa. He had found, in attempting to promote the establishment of a colony there, that it was an obstacle which opposed itself to him in innumerable ways. It created more embarrassments than all the natural impediments of the country, and was more hard to contend with than any difficulties of climate, soil, or natural disposition of the people." This representation had great weight; and the result of the discussion was, that "it was the opinion of the Committee that the trade ought to be gradually abolished."

On April the 23d a Bill was accordingly introduced for the gradual abolition, which it was agreed, after a long debate, should take place in the year 1796.

Early in the next session (1793), Mr. Wilberforce again brought forward his motion for the consideration of the subject; and afterwards, on May 14th, moved for the abolition of that part of the Slave Trade by which the British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves: but both these motions were negatived, and lost. The examination of evidence, however, by the Committee of Privy Council, continued.

In 1794, Mr. Wilberforce, who had now digested his plan of operations, renewed his motion for leave to bring in the Bill which he had proposed last year; and the Bill was carried in the Committee, but lost in the House of Lords.

From this period, Mr. Wilberforce appears to have rested his hopes on a steady perseverance in an annual renewal of his motion in favour of the Abolition. In 1795 he moved for leave to bring in "a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." In the year 1796 he made a

similar motion; but both were lost. Another Bill, proposed by Mr. Francis, for the amelioration of the condition of slaves in the West Indies, was rejected in a similar manner; but an Address was agreed on to his Majesty, to order copies to be laid before the House of all the Acts passed by the several Colonial Assemblies since 1788, relative to regulations in behalf of the slaves.

In 1797, a farther address to his Majesty was carried, to give directions to the Governors of the West India Islands to recommend to the Colonial Assemblies to make regulations for the improvement of the condition of slaves, and the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade.

In this year the Committee received a letter from the President of the Pensylvanian Society for the Abolition of Slavery (Dr. Franklin), communicating a successful progress in America, and encouraging the Society to persevere in their efforts.

In 1798, Mr. Wilberforce again asked leave to renew his former "Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade in a limited time." In 1799 he repeated his effort. Both attempts were ineffectual.

Fresh efforts were now made to strengthen the cause, by the considerations deduced from the new colony of Sierra Leone; and Mr. Thornton moved for "leave to propose the restriction of the Slave Trade within certain limits," exempting from it about one-third of the African coast. But this Bill also, though it passed the Commons, was lost in the House of Lords, after a debate in which Dr. Horsley, bishop of Rochester, vindicated the Scriptures from the imputation of tolerating slavery.

CHAP. IV.

AMIDST these repeated failures of the efforts made in Parliament to obtain the Abolition of the Slave Trade, it was evident that the powerful eloquence of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, uniting in the production of irrefragable arguments against the continuance of the horrid traffic, had shaken it to the very foundation; and, notwithstanding the high rank of several of their opponents, and the talents of some few among them, strong hopes now arose that the cause of the Abolition was secretly gaining ground. It was therefore thought prudent to let the question rest for a time; and though Mr. Wilberforce annually moved for papers that might elucidate the subject, he forbore the renewal of his motion till the year 1804, when, the Union with Ireland having taken place, a new tribunal presented itself for the investigation of the subject. The Committee were not disappointed in their expectations from this *timing* of their measures. The Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade within a limited period passed in the House of Commons by a considerable majority; and in the House of Lords the discussion was merely postponed to the next session.

In the ensuing year, 1805, Mr. Wilberforce resumed his motion, and, to the disappointment and dismay of its friends, was unsuccessful. But the cause of its failure having been discovered to be the accidental absence of such of its friends as had conceived it to be secure of success, new efforts were made with alacrity for its support in the next session.

In the interval Mr. Pitt died (January 1806), and Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were called in to the Ministry. The cause was now brought into Parliament under new auspices, and it only remained to be proved whether the opinions which those persons had maintained when in Opposition, would be acted on when Ministers. Events soon proclaimed the sincerity of their professions. A Bill was brought into

the House of Commons, by the Attorney-General*, for prohibiting the importation of slaves by British subjects, either into colonies conquered during the war (consistently with a Proclamation issued by his Majesty in a former year), or into any foreign colony, whether hostile or neutral, and also for preventing British subjects from carrying on a Slave Trade in neutral vessels, and from fitting out Foreign ships for British ports. This Bill passed both Houses; Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville declaring, in the respective debates, their strong sense of the importance of the question to the interests of humanity, and the claims of policy, justice, and religion; and their conviction that the accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave Trade would be, of all other measures, the most glorious to their administration.

Mr. Fox next moved, on June 10th, "that the House, considering the Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for its abolition;" declaring, that "if he should succeed in *carrying through* this measure, he should think his life well spent, and should retire satisfied that he had not lived in vain."

The majorities were—in the House of Commons, 114 to 15; in the Lords, 41 to 20. In the former, after the resolution had passed, Mr. Wilberforce moved an "Address to his Majesty, that he would invite the co-operation of Foreign Powers in the same cause." The Address was also carried in both Houses; and, to prevent any interested abuse of the interval previous to a Bill for the actual Abolition, another Bill was introduced, to prevent any new vessels being employed in the trade.

The joy of this success was damped, in October, by the death of Mr. Fox. "Two things," said that great man on his death-bed, "I wish earnestly to see accomplished,—*Peace with Europe*, and *the Abolition of the Slave Trade:* but, of the two, I wish more the latter†."

In 1807, Lord Grenville brought into the House of Lords "a

* Sir Arthur Piggott.

† Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. ii. p. 567.

Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade;" as if this great cause were due to no other hands than those of himself and Mr. Fox.

Counsel were heard against the Bill for four days; and on the fifth day commenced the ever-memorable debate, which secured the victory of humanity and religion over the agencies of the Great Enemy of human bliss. The majority was of 100 against 36.

On the 10th of February the triumph was completed in the House of Commons, by a majority of 283 against 16.

A Committee of the whole House being then formed, a Bill was passed, "that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May of that year, 1807;" and that no Slave should be landed in the colonies after March 1, 1808. The Bill was passed on the 16th of March, and, by the strenuous exertions of Lord Grenville, was completed in all its forms and confirmed by the Royal Assent, on Wednesday the 25th, a few minutes only before the Ministers resigned their respective offices, as they had been required to do by a message delivered to them that morning. The remaining interval of *an half hour* was used to this glorious purpose,—to the accomplishment of an act which will live to latest posterity in the love, admiration, and gratitude of mankind!

Such as have been here briefly described, were the long-protracted labours of an association of benevolent men—the natives of all countries, the examples to all ages—in the support of human dignity. Nothing less than such a combination could have prevailed, to loose the deep-rooted grasp of human, or rather infernal, avarice. Nor could the extent of human wisdom have devised means more adapted to this end. It was necessary that a spring should be moved, which might affect the wheels of government and public action; and it was necessary that so important a spring should take its direction from the most solid and substantial base. The latter had been prepared by the efforts of the Association; the former was happily added in the virtues, political rank, and talents of Mr. Wilberforce, aided by his peculiar connections of friendly intimacy with the Prime Minister.

Admiration and reverence can seldom be directed to characters more honourable to the faculties of man, than theirs, whose names in this great cause stand for ever united—of Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce; of the one who founded, and the one who crowned, the work of African deliverance.

Of the advocates of the cause, in the Houses of Parliament, the numerous list contains nearly all who gave dignity to the age: the leaders of either party (as has been seen) stood in the front*. Of its opponents—let the memory fall to earth! Let us forbear, in Christian charity, to awaken feelings of contention providentially now laid to rest.

The lustre of Mr. Wilberforce's action was unclouded even for an instant: to the vulgar eye he seemed, like the *Manco-Capac* of the Peruvians, the child of light, to have descended from the Sun, in pity of human sufferings; and Hope followed his steps. Such is the bright and dazzling aspect of virtue, wherever she appears! His benevolent course found its security in minds already prepared for the admission of truth, and its success in hearts already opened to those feelings, which he exerted himself to inspire and improve.

Shame on the degraded mercenaries of an infamous and unnatural commerce, who attempt to undermine the basis, which so much virtuous labour has prepared, and on which religion may hope to rear the beautiful fabric of human civilization! Shame, doubled shame, on the imbecile Governments, which hesitate to oppose the ægis of power to such attempts!

* "Among the speakers in favour of the Abolition were, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Gloucester, the Dukes of Richmond and Norfolk; Marquis Townshend; the Earls of Buckinghamshire and Carlisle, Earls Grosvenor, Moira, Spencer, Stanhope, Selkirk, Roslyn; the Bishops of London (Dr. Porteus), Durham (Dr. Barrington), St. Asaph (Dr. Horsley), Landaff Dr. Watson); the Lords Grenville, Erskine, Holland, Loughborough, Ellenborough, King, Hood: In the House of Commons, Earl Percy, Lords Howick, Milton, H. Petty, Mahon, Carysfort, Mornington, De Blaquiere; Sir William Dolben, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Robert Buxton, Sir James Johnstone, Sir Ralph Milbank, Sir Arthur Piggott, Sir John Newport, Sir John Doyle; Messrs. Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, Burke, Whitbread, Perceval, Beaufoy, Sheridan, W. Smith, Grigby, M. Montagu, Francis, J. Martin, H. Thornton, Roscoe, Canning, Bastard, Barham, Courtenay, Stanley, Wynne, Lyttelton, Ryder, L. Smith, Milnes, Hobhouse, Bouverie, Grenfell, Leigh, Huddlestone, Fawkes, Lushington, Ward, Jacob, Herbert, Burdon, Cocks, General Vyse," &c.—*See Clarkson's History of the Abolition.*

CHAP. V.

LET us now return (as in the narrative of Sierra Leone) to such points of this awful and eternally-honourable enterprise, as particularly regard the venerable subject of these Memoirs. It has been fully shown, in an early part of them, with what earnest and persevering zeal he had endeavoured to prepare the minds of our Bishops and Archbishops to second an attempt at eradicating the almost criminal prejudices, which prevented the traffic in Slaves from appearing in its real light. His successful appeals gradually opened the way to that union of minds, which proved at length so instrumental to its abolition. His first notice of the Association formed for that purpose is in a letter to his brother, dated 19th July, 1787.

" Leadenhall Street.

"A Society has lately been formed here, for the purpose of opposing the Slave Trade. Though the members are chiefly Quakers, I thought it my duty, when invited, to join them in so just a measure; and I wish, for the honour of the Church of England, that some of our dignified Clergy would subscribe to it; and the more especially, as the Anabaptist Congregations, and some of the Methodists, are making collections for the same cause. I will send you some of the books which are distributed by this Society, the first opportunity. Perhaps Lord Crew's Trustees might allow something toward so good a work."

The merits of Mr. Sharp's preparatory labours were justly appreciated by the Society. From the first hour that the Committee was formed, he was, by a general sentiment of the members, regarded as their Chairman, and was addressed as such on every occasion of their meeting. But he would never consent to take the chair, although repeatedly pressed to do so. It appeared, therefore, to the Committee, to be suitable to the dignity of their cause, and to their sense of his

exalted character, that they should, by a public expression of their wishes, overrule this singularity of feeling; and, accordingly, in one of the following meetings, they drew up a Resolution, by which GRANVILLE SHARP was appointed Chairman of the Committee, as "*father of the cause in England**."

But no external action could at any time make him swerve from a rule of conduct which he had once laid down for himself *as right to be pursued*. He felt warmly the honour of such a mark of respect, but he was no hypocrite in his wish to decline it. Although he felt, that, the office being assigned to him, he was bound by the resolution of the Committee to consider it as an object of his duty; and although, in consequence, he regularly (when in town) attended every meeting of the Society, and signed as Chairman every paper that was handed to him, he was never once *seated in the chair* during the long continuance of twenty years:—"conscious" (says Mr. Clarkson) "that he engaged in the cause of his fellow-creatures, solely upon the sense of his duty as a Christian, he seemed to suppose, either that he had done nothing extraordinary to merit such a distinction, or to have been fearful lest the acceptance of it should bring a stain upon the motive, on which alone he undertook it†."

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i. † Ibid.

In another publication, before quoted, the same Author says, "In no one instance could Mr. Sharp be prevailed upon to take the chair. The Writer of this article has attended above seven hundred Committees and Sub-Committees with him, and yet, though sometimes but few were present, he always seated himself at the end of the room; choosing rather to serve the glorious cause in humility through conscience, than in the character of a distinguished individual."

The solution of this apparent singularity will be partly found in the following extract from a letter to one of his brothers.

"The Committee associated for the Abolition of the Slave Trade have thought proper to choose me their Chairman, and much business has been done in my name, though I have never yet been in the chair, but have only signed the letters that have been sent to me; for I previously told the gentlemen, that it would be impossible for me to undertake any additional trouble; and they answered, that they would only desire the use of my name and signature, and would, among themselves in rotation, undertake to write all the letters. And they gave me a reason, which was excellent (being chiefly *Quakers*): they wished to lay aside every peculiarity which might seem to belong to a particular sect; for they hoped to have the Society consist of all denominations of Christians, and therefore they would write the letters just as if they were formed by myself. *This is a great concession.*" That

The great extent of action into which he had entered previously to the formation of the Committee, in endeavouring to excite the feelings, and call forth the reason, of men in every branch of power in the state, to whom he could procure access, was now no longer incumbent on him. The zeal which he had so strenuously laboured to communicate, now burned in the bosoms of thousands, of all of whom the *Committee* might be said to be the representatives, or especial delegates; and in his appointment to the chair he seemed only to receive a commission to watch and guard the holy flame, which he had kindled.

But the views announced by the Society, in their determination on the title which they assumed, did not correspond with the hopes which his capacious mind had formed, and he could not admit the diminution of them without a struggle. The vast object of his benevolence, the abolition of slavery throughout the world, appeared to him to be at stake. He feared it might be compromised by the adoption of subordinate measures; and, while he accepted the honour designed for him, the ardour of his character, the zeal of his heart, and the profound interest of his feelings in the sufferings of humanity, all

That he also felt a real desire to avoid all appearance of individual distinction in the Committee, is evident from his reply to the following request from Lord Muncaster:—

To Granville Sharp. Esq.

"Sir, "Muncaster House, 18th February, 1791.

"A print of our most admirable and excellent friend, Mr. Wilberforce, is nearly finished, from a picture he was so good as to sit for at my solicitation; and as I do not know to whom, with so much public propriety and gratification, it could possibly be dedicated, as to you, Sir, and the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, I beg leave to solicit your permission that it may be so....I felt it to be an attention due on my part to apply for your approbation, before I give the order for its being done." "With the fullest esteem," &c.

"MUNCASTER."

G. S. in reply.

"My Lord, "27th August, 1791.

"The Gentlemen of the Committee concur in approving your Lordship's proposal for the dedication of Mr. Wilberforce's portrait. As for myself, I have so sincere a respect for the general character and abilities of Mr. Wilberforce, that I cannot think myself worthy to be mentioned expressly by name in the dedication of his picture, but only in my office of Chairman—'To the Chairman and Committee,' &c. &c.—though perhaps there would be more propriety in dedicating merely 'To the Society;' or, perhaps, 'To the *several Societies* assembled throughout the Kingdom,' &c. &c."

pressed forward and burst impetuously forth. He rose in the Committee, and expressed himself with vehemence on the *criminal* forbearance of all who declined to engage in the great duty of associating for the Abolition of Slavery as well as of the Slave Trade.

Mr. Clarkson has recorded the discussion which took place at this meeting*; and the present anecdote is added from the same authority. Of ten persons who were present, Granville stood *singly* for including the abolition of slavery in the title of the Society. "As *slavery*," he asserted, "was as much a crime against the Divine laws as the *Slave Trade*, it became the Committee to exert themselves equally against the continuance of both; and he did not hesitate to pronounce all present *guilty before God*, for shutting those, who were then slaves all the world over, out of the pale of their approaching labours." He delivered this his protest against their proceedings in the energetic manner usual to him, when roused on the subject,—with a loud voice, a powerful emphasis, and both hands lifted up towards Heaven. Finding, however, that he could not produce any alteration in the views of the Committee†, he showed no further disposition to differ from it. Unable to effect the whole of his wishes, (which he relinquished with regret, and *but for a while*,) he felt satisfied that he had delivered his testimony against the proceedings which circumscribed them, and from that hour proved himself thoroughly desirous to aid, to his utmost ability, the *part* which he found could be undertaken with greater and more general consent. So strongly again, in this instance, was marked his distinctive character: extensive in his ideas, enthusiastic in his conceptions, vehement in his efforts; temperate, prudent, earnest in his performance.

It was very early recommended to him by the Committee to keep up a frequent intercourse with the Bishop of London (Dr. Porteus), who had expressed the most favourable sentiments of their design, and an earnest desire of joining in their labours. He therefore,

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i. p. 282, &c.

† The Committee acknowledged the criminality in both cases, (Slavery and Slave Trade), but kept steady to the *Abolition of the Trade only*, as the main root, from a belief that, if both were attempted, neither of them would be carried.—*From Mr. Clarkson.*

placing his accustomed reliance on the operation of Christian principles, hastened to call into action, in behalf of their endeavours for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, whatever interest he had raised among the Dignitaries of the Church for the more general cause which he had pleaded.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London.—[EXTRACT.]

" My Lord, " Wicken Park, Bucks, 31st August, 1787.

" Just before I left London, I received a letter from Dr. Franklin, Governor of Pennsylvania, addressed to me in the name of a new American Society, (of which he is President,) established for the charitable purpose of abolishing the Slave Trade, earnestly exhorting me, in very strong but polite terms, to continue my endeavours against that abominable traffic. A Society has been also lately instituted in London for the same purpose, the members of which intend to promote a Bill in Parliament, early in the next session, for prohibiting the African Slave Trade.

" The Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom I communicated the subject, has assured me of his hearty desire to oppose that trade; and on a former occasion, some years ago, I obtained similar promises from nineteen other Bishops; and I flatter myself that your Lordships, and many others of the Lay Peers, will very readily concur in this common cause of humanity. But my hopes with respect to the House of Commons are not so sanguine, though Mr. Wilberforce, and several other respectable members, have already declared an earnest desire to abolish the Slave Trade.

" With the greatest respect and esteem, My Lord," &c. &c.

The following letter, of the same nature with the last, appears also among his MS. papers*.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Cloyne (Dr. Woodward).

" My Lord, " Leadenhall Street, London, 16th February, 1788.

" The just sentiments concerning the gross iniquity of the African Slave Trade, as well as the impolicy of it, so forcibly and unanswerably asserted in

* The generality of letters from the Society were written by different members of the Committee (principally Messrs. Clarkson, Dilwyn, Lloyd, Harrison, Phillips, Woods, &c.), and merely received Mr. Sharp's signature as Chairman. Some few, on particular occasions, were written by himself. The rough draft of the present letter is among his MS. papers.

your Lordship's letter to your worthy friend Dr. Bever, having been communicated by me (with the Doctor's permission) to the Committee of the Society instituted in London for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, I am desired by the Committee to inform your Lordship, that your hearty concurrence with them in sentiment, and full approbation of the purposes for which their Society was instituted, have given them the most sincere satisfaction; and that they have enrolled your Lordship's name in their Society, as an honorary and corresponding member, that their cause and design may be promoted by your Lordship's abilities and influence.

"The Marquis de la Fayette, a nobleman of great fortune, and very considerable influence in the Court of France, has, by his friend the Chevalier de Ternant, now in England, signified his earnest desire to establish a Society in France on the same principles as our own; and has expressed his hopes, that if both France and England should really lay aside the infamous traffick, all other nations would probably follow so good an example. These two benevolent strangers were entered on the list of our society, as honorary and corresponding members, at the same time with your Lordship.

"Whether any ships for the Slave Trade have ever been sent from any of the Irish ports of late years, I am not at all informed; but if the Parliament of Great Britain should really prohibit the trade from the ports of England and Scotland, some precaution will be necessary to prevent our Liverpool and Bristol slave-mongers from transferring their iniquitous traffic to Irish ports, especially as the distinct legislative rights of Ireland are now so justly and amply acknowledged.

"A prohibition, therefore, of the Slave Trade, by the distinct Legislature of Ireland, concurrent with what is the national voice, or present demand, from the Parliament of Great Britain, or, if possible, to have the honour even of preceding, or anticipating, that British act of justice, is a step very desirable, and seemingly necessary, to prevent our unnatural hardened slave-dealers from evading the intended British prohibition by sheltering their inhumanity under the distinct privileges of the Irish nation.

"With this idea, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's better judgment the propriety of exerting your interest and influence amongst your friends, and more especially with the Bishops and other members of the Irish Parliament, for promoting the above-mentioned necessary measure.

"Your Lordship already entertains so just a sense of the iniquity as well as unprofitableness of slavery, that it would be superfluous in me to urge or

write any thing farther to yourself on that head; yet, for the sake of making a deeper impression on the minds of your friends in Ireland, I trust you will excuse my reminding you of a very ancient testimony against slavery by the Archbishop and Bishops of Ireland, at the first council of Armagh, in the reign of King Henry II., when the venerable prelates and clergy of almost all Ireland, after proclaiming liberty to the English Slaves, declared their apprehensions and belief that the miseries with which their island was then afflicted were really the effects of God's wrath for *having tolerated slavery among them!*

"With the greatest respect, My Lord," &c. &c.

The Chevalier de Ternant, mentioned in the last letter, procured an introduction to Mr. Sharp in the beginning of the year 1788, at the request of the Marquis de la Fayette, whose wishes he was charged to communicate to him for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and for an union of the Governments of France and England to that effect. Mr. Sharp referred him to Mr. Wilberforce, and at the same time entered into correspondence with La Fayette; and the names of the Marquis and his friend were consequently enrolled among the honorary correspondents of the society.

His intercourse with Brissot, Larthenas, and others of the National Revolutionists, commenced shortly afterwards, from the same source.

It has been mentioned in the preceding pages, that, when Mr. Wilberforce was prevented by illness from making the first proposed motion in Parliament in behalf of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt unexpectedly took that arduous part on himself, and introduced the subject to the notice of the House of Commons. Previously, however, (having pledged himself to so great a national duty) he thought it requisite to investigate the views and character of the Association to which he was to lend his support: he therefore requested the attendance of the Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Sharp waited on him, in obedience to his command; and, as we are informed in the "History of the Abolition," reported to the Committee, that he had been allowed to explain fully to Mr. Pitt, that the desire of the Society extended to *the total abolition of the Slave Trade*;—that Mr. Pitt had assured him of his cordial participation

in the wishes of the Society; but observed, that the subject was of great national importance, and that it was requisite to proceed with temper and prudence; adding, that, as the examination before the Privy Council would take up some time, he apprehended that the subject could not be fully investigated in that session of Parliament, and he should therefore propose the farther consideration of it in the ensuing session.

In the arduous contest for national character and human privileges, to which this subject gave rise, it was remarkable, that the great Statesman above mentioned, who was then at the head of the Administration, was found, on each parliamentary division, *in the minority*; *his speeches* and *his vote* being uniformly in *favour* of the Abolition, and those of the party *which generally obeyed his voice* as uniformly on the other side. To read the heart, is in the power of One Being alone; but the recollection of some few circumstances, which regard the real springs of action in so singular a procedure, may not be uninteresting.

Mr. Pitt appears to have first directed his attention to the subject of the Slave Trade early in the year 1788—probably at the instigation of his friend Mr. Wilberforce; on whose recommendation Mr. Clarkson, who had zealously collected information of the most useful kind on the subject, was permitted to have an interview with the Minister. In that interview Mr. Pitt expressed his doubts as to the *reality* of the treatment of the slaves, as well as of the mortality of the seamen in the trade, and also as to the riches, genius, and abilities of the African people. "Mr. Pitt," says Mr. Clarkson, "appeared to me to have then but little knowledge of the subject." To elucidate these points, therefore, Mr. Clarkson was desired to wait again on him the next day, with such proofs as he could bring of all that he had stated. "At the time appointed," continues Mr. Clarkson, "I went, with my books, papers, and African productions. Mr. Pitt examined the former himself. He turned over leaf after leaf, in which the copies of the muster-rolls were contained, with great patience; and when he had looked over above a hundred pages accurately, and found the name of every seamen inserted—his former abode or service—the time of his

entry—and what had become of him, either by death, discharge, or desertion—he expressed his surprise at the great pains which had been taken in this branch of the inquiry, and confessed, with some emotion, that his doubts were wholly removed with respect to the destructive nature of the employ; and he said, moreover, that the facts contained in these documents, if they had been but fairly copied, could never be disproved."

"He was equally astonished at the various *woods*, and other productions of Africa, but most of all at the manufactures of the Natives in cotton, leather, gold, and iron, which were laid before him. These he handled and examined over and over again. On the sight of these, *many sublime thoughts seemed to rush in upon him* at once; some of which he expressed, with observations becoming a great and a dignified mind. He thanked me for the light I had given him on many of the branches of this great question; and I went away under a certain conviction that I had left him much impressed in our favour*."

Mr. Sharp's Notes confirm these sentiments:—

MS.—"1788. April 21. Waited on Mr. Pitt at one o'clock. Mr. Pitt said, 'his heart was with us; that he had pledged himself to Mr. Wilberforce that the cause should not suffer [during his indisposition], but believed that the best way would be to give time to collect all possible evidence, and to obtain an order of the present sessions (if the rules of the House would permit, of which he would inform himself) to resume the business early in the next session.'"

The circumstance of Mr. Sharp's interview with the Minister may also assist in illustrating the following anecdote, related by Mr. Clarkson.—

"The way in which Mr. Pitt became acquainted with this question has already been explained: a few doubts having been removed, when

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i. chap. 22.

it was first started, he professed himself *a friend to the Abolition.* The first proof which he gave of his friendship to it, is known but to few; but it is nevertheless true, that so early as in 1788 he occasioned a communication to be made to the French Government, in which he recommended an union of the two countries for the promotion of the great measure*."

It can scarcely be doubted, that during Mr. Sharp's conversation with Mr. Pitt, he had not neglected to mention the correspondence, into which the Society had entered with men of considerable personal influence in France. His own intercourse with them, in particular, as the champion of the African cause, and the overtures which he had received from that country on the subject†, were calculated to give a strong appearance of plausibility to the proposal which Mr. Pitt is stated to have made‡.

An occurrence about this time, already alluded to§, while it shows Mr. Sharp's strict attention to his official duty, presents a further instance of his aversion to take to himself any merit in which others might be induced to share.

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. ii. chap. 9.

† One of the letters from the Chevalier de Ternant to Mr. Sharp, dated 28th February 1788, expresses a desire that, "independent of the intended (Mr. Wilberforce's) parliamentary motion, an address to the King should be moved for, requesting his Majesty *to propose to* and *enter with* the King of France, and other interested Powers, into such arrangements as may facilitate the Abolition of the Slave Trade," &c. &c.

‡ In further justice to Mr. Pitt's character, it is requisite to state an additional testimony, given by Mr. Clarkson, in noticing the event of his death. After expressing that "he took an active, strenuous, and consistent part in the cause year after year,"—"in my own private communications with him" (he adds), "which were frequent, he never failed to give proofs of a similar disposition. I had always free access to him. I had no previous note or letter to write for admission. Whatever papers I wanted, he ordered. He exhibited also, in his conversation with me on these occasions, marks of a more than ordinary interest in the welfare of the cause. Among the subjects which were then stated, there was one which was always near his heart: this was, *the civilization of Africa.* He looked upon this great work as a debt due to that continent, for the many injuries we had inflicted upon it; and had *the Abolition succeeded sooner,* as in *the infancy of his exertions he had hoped, I know he had a plan,* suited no doubt to the capaciousness of his own mind, for such establishments in Africa, as he conceived would promote in due time this important end."

§ Page 248.

The captain of a merchant-ship, trading to the Bay of Honduras, had picked up at sea, from the wreck of a Spanish ship, two Black men—the one a free native of Antigua, who had served in the Royal Navy; the other a Spanish Negro—and he now detained them on board his ship in the river Thames, and refused to release them, or to give them up. They found means of application to Mr. Sharp, and it was easy to him to liberate them. He well knew the proper means to be employed to acquire their liberty and their gratitude. But it was now requisite to be no longer individually distinguished as the advocate for their rights. He brought the case to the Treasurer of the Society, *on whose report* it was resolved that the cause of the unfortunate captives should be espoused by the Committee. The *Chairman* was accordingly desired to cause a writ of Habeas Corpus to be served upon them; and he soon reported that they were at liberty.

CHAP. VI.

BUT the energy of Mr. Sharp's activity in the assertion of human freedom, and in behalf of the oppressed in all conditions, however it might be modified by his situation in respect to the Society, was not diminished by it. Although strictly adhering to his especial duties as Chairman of the Committee in all acts of the Society, he did not in his individual capacity limit his opposition of slavery to their operations solely. The following note and letters are instances of his continued zeal and vigilance during the general labours of the Committee. Of the memorandum annexed to the last of the letters, the immediate cause does not appear: its contents coincide with what has been related of Mr. Sharp's views and wishes with regard to the Slave Trade and slavery; and it is, perhaps, the testimony which he wished to bequeath to posterity, of his unchanged sentiments on the subject.

MS.—"1792. October 20. Called at Lambeth on the Archbishop. Mentioned my concern that the House of Lords should make a question about abolishing the Slave Trade, as they ought to know the *foundations* of law, and that no power on earth has legal authority to give sanction to such enormities."

G. S. to his Grace the Archbishop of ———.

"My Lord, "Garden Court, Temple, 7th June, 1793.

"Though I have already had ample reason to be convinced that your Grace's humanity and benevolence have always sufficiently engaged your attention towards the promotion of the general endeavours that have hitherto been made for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, yet I think it my duty to your Grace, and indeed I am further urged also by the Committee of the Society for the Abolition, to solicit a very particular attention to Mr. Wilberforce's present Bill

for preventing British subjects from supplying Foreign plantations with Slaves; because this Bill affords not only probable means of saving many thousand lives, but will also, we think, facilitate the future general abolition of *the trade*, by cutting off a considerable part of the interested opposition against us, if the Bill should be passed. As very few Peers, at the present moment, make a majority in the House of Lords, and as our interested opponents will probably be very assiduous in urging the attendance of the Lords that are inclined to favour them, the Committee think it of great importance to our cause that the *Spiritual Lords* in particular, on whose humanity and religious attention to this business they place the highest confidence, should be aware that an accidental absence from a thin House may occasion the loss of this desirable Bill; and therefore I humbly presume to suggest to your Grace, that the Bishops who may happen to be prevented from attending when it is carried into the House of Lords, should be requested to leave their proxies with your Grace, or with any Bishop friendly to our cause, who may be able to attend its progress. This plan I have ventured to submit particularly to your Grace's consideration, because no other Peer can so easily or so properly promote it as yourself, if you think it right. As to myself, it is not merely the *Abolition of the Slave Trade* for which I am anxiously solicitous, but also, very particularly, that this great question of humanity and justice may be principally supported and carried by a decided majority of the Bishops, for the honour of the Church of England; because the eyes of the whole nation, including every other religious persuasion, are also equally intent upon the same subject, and expect a just decision.—I have enclosed a printed copy of a letter which I wrote about four months ago, in answer to one which I received from the Secretary of a Society for relieving oppressed Negroes in Maryland, much to the same effect as the letter to King Naimbanna, which I had the honour to present to your Grace some time ago; but as this printed letter includes several objects not strictly comprehended within the plan of our English Society (which extends not to the abolition of slavery, but only of the *Slave Trade*), it is necessary that I should remark, that the printed letter is presented by myself, merely as a private individual, without any authority or concurrence of the Committee.

"With the greatest respect and esteem, My Lord," &c. &c.

G. S. to William Wilberforce, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "March 4, 1794.

"I am informed, by a friend, that there is a clause in the Bill 'for abolishing

the Trade carried on for supplying Foreign Territories with Slaves,' which may enable the West-Indian planters to bring their domestic slaves with them to England with impunity, and still hold them in bondage in this country, provided they previously obtained a licence from the Governor of the island from whence the slaves were shipped: whereby the poor Black servants may be compelled to return to the West Indies into slavery, at the will and pleasure of their masters; or, at least, it is apprehended that the clause is capable of being twisted to such a construction by the usual sophistry of lawyers. As I am very anxious that all pretence for any such construction should be entirely excluded, I must earnestly entreat you to introduce (if possible) some short saving clause, declaratory of the just and efficacious principles of the English Law and Constitution, lately acknowledged by Lord Mansfield himself, in my hearing, for the annihilation of slavery in England.

"The saving clause may be to this effect: that 'nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect, or alter, the generally-acknowledged judgment and doctrine of the King's courts of law in Great Britain and Ireland—viz. that *the moment a foreign slave sets foot on British ground, he becomes free.*' It would, perhaps, be superfluous to add, that our rivers and harbours also equally partake of this salutary influence of English law, by being within the same jurisdiction. As a proof of this, I have released a considerable number of poor Negro Slaves myself, at different times, from confinement on shipboard, and two of them even from the Downs, by writs of Habeas Corpus; so that the British Channel, without doubt, has equal privilege; and the Admiralty Courts will assert also the freedom of their jurisdiction on the British seas.

"It is now twenty-seven years since I first asserted the illegality of slavery in England, and have since, from time to time, succeeded (God be thanked!) in re-establishing the ancient efficacy of the English laws against slavery. It would therefore be a very grievous injury *to the public*, if the advocates for slavery should really gain any advantage by this well-intended Bill, introduced by the friends of justice and humanity.

"With great esteem, dear Sir," &c. &c.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, President of the Society for the Conversion and religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indies.—[EXTRACT.]

"My Lord, "January, 1795.

"I had wished to have left in your Lordship's hands, together with the

enclosed proposals*, a memorial against the iniquity and danger of tolerating slavery in the British colonies; but I since find, by the copy of the Charter which your Lordship has been pleased to send me, that the names of ——— ——————— and of ——— ——————— are included in the list of trustees—persons (howsoever respectable in all other points of view) who have uniformly opposed all honest endeavours to abolish the Slave Trade—(as if the dishonest gains of an infamous traffic, or the imaginary necessity or expediency of promoting at any rate the national commerce and revenue, could possibly justify the subversion of all the fundamental principles of natural equity; or as if the mammon of unrighteousness might honestly be balanced against the constitutional limitations of a legal government);—so that I am well aware, that even the most forcible remonstrance in behalf of indispensable righteousness, though declared with the tongues of men and angels, would have been utterly ineffectual with persons accustomed to sophisticate all just ideas of right, and to confound all distinctions between good and evil, by an implicit obedience to the doctrines of political necessity, contrary to an indispensable maxim of the English Constitution, "*Melius est omnia mala pati, quam malo consentire:*" much less might I expect that my poor remonstrance in behalf of our constitutional laws could have had any weight with persons in such habits of thinking. I have not, therefore, much cause to regret the withdrawing all that I had urged on that head to your Lordship, as President of the Incorporated Society.

"But, in this separate private address to your Lordship, I hope I may still express my earnest wishes that the principles, at least, of the remonstrance against slavery in my former letter, may incline your Lordship to form, in better language and more methodical arguments, a proper statement of the great injustice, and consequently of the great *national danger*, of tolerating slavery in any part of the British dominions, contrary to the constitutional principles of a legal English Government. ..... I am the more anxious for a timely remonstrance from your Lordship (not for the public eye, but at first only) to a select body of the Bishops, in such a manner as your Lordship shall think most prudent, that they may be induced to join in a forcible representation of our danger, and of the real necessity for a thorough reformation in political as well as personal morality; which loyal exertion in behalf of indispensable righteousness will be not only better received by all parties from that most respectable body of men, but also, I am sure, will be effectual; and may, perhaps, be the means

* The offer of Fairsted estate. See note in page 391.

of securing to us a long continuation of our pure Episcopal Church, whatsoever awful changes may happen in other mere political establishments. Or even if only four Bishops should be found of sufficient resolution to unite in a loyal protest against this destructive iniquity of slavery, and 'to stand in the gap for the land,' like the four resolute princes of Israel in the same just cause (an opposition to slavery), they would certainly be at least as successful. .....

"I need not urge to your Lordship the scriptural doctrine, that 'the Throne is established by righteousness,' or the plain result, that no Throne can be durably established without it; but I have reason to urge (according to an ancient maxim of our Constitutional Law, 'Ordo episcoporum est robur reipublicæ'), that your sacred order has really more effectual power to restore and maintain that necessary *saving righteousness*, for the security and peace of your country, by firm and united remonstrances or protests, from time to time, against every infringement of the two first foundations of English law (natural and revealed religion), than any other order or human power in the kingdom; whereby is incurred, indeed (whenever such warnings are omitted), a most awful personal responsibility on your order more than on any other.

"If this truly loyal measure of protesting against the public iniquities of the State, which I earnestly recommend to those eminent persons whose sacred dignity and venerable character peculiarly qualify them for giving the most effectual warnings of God's judgments, be much longer delayed, our annual public fasts (while our most notorious national iniquities are suffered year after year to pass uncensured) must bear much too exact a resemblance to those obnoxious fasts described, by the princely Prophet Isaiah, as so many additional provocations to the vengeance of the Almighty! For we are expressly required, even in that very remonstrance of Isaiah, to 'undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free.' Let us also remember the remarkable testimony of the ancient Bishops of Ireland, at the first council of Armagh,—alas! when it was too late to avert the evil which had fallen on their nation!

"With sincere esteem and respect, my Lord," &c. &c.

MEMORANDUM. [*No Date.*]

"Having been required by the Committee of the Society in London, instituted for effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, to sign, officially and singly with my name, their late Resolutions in answer to the charges of ———, Esq. I think it right to declare, with respect to myself *individually*, that, though I have carefully maintained the principles and orders of that Society, in every

transaction wherein I have been concerned as a member of it, ever since it was formed in the year 1787; and have always strictly limited my official endeavours to the single declared object of the institution, '*the Abolition of the Slave Trade;*' yet I am bound, in reason and common justice to mankind, further to declare, that many years (at least twenty) before the Society was formed, I thought, and ever shall think, it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty (impious and cruel being the due epithets fixed by an allowed maxim of the law on such iniquity) not only of the Slave Trade, but also of *slavery itself*, in whatever form it is favoured; and likewise to assert, that no authority on earth can ever render such enormous iniquities legal; but that the Divine retribution (the '*measure for measure*' so clearly denounced in the holy Scriptures) will inevitably pursue every government, or legislature, that shall presume to establish, or even to tolerate, such abominable injustice*. I should forfeit all title to true loyalty as an Englishman, did I not continue the same fixed detestation of slavery which I have publicly avowed for about thirty years past; but my declarations on that head were always intended as friendly warnings against the obvious and ordinary consequences of that unchristian oppression, slavery; but surely not to *excite* those fatal consequences,—for that would be superfluous, as they are in themselves but too sure and inevitable, unless timely amendment should avert them.

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

On the final success of the advocates for the Abolition, when the welcome tidings were brought to Mr. Sharp, he is said to have immediately fallen on his knees, in devotion and gratitude to his Creator. On this record it is fit to add the comment of one who was best qualified to judge of the emotions of his heart, and of the action to which it is probable that they gave birth: "I do not doubt that he did so, but it must have been in *the deepest retirement.*"

*** See a "Representation of the Injustice of tolerating Slavery," "The Law of Retribution," and other Tracts against Slavery, printed in 1776, and since that time.**

CHAP. VII.

THE novel example of a man, who, combating with unsparing severity every deviation from the Established Church of England, had yet refused to accept of a valuable preferment in that Church; and who asserted, on all public occasions, the sovereign and indispensable authority of Christ and the Scriptures, over the politics of states and princes; could not fail to co-operate powerfully with the other moral causes, which at that time turned back the reflecting part of Europe from the contagion of infidelity and atheism, to the more salutary paths of religious order.

BIBLE SOCIETY.

A spirit, directed to the reform of public sentiment, manifested itself in the rise of institutions for the advancement of Revealed Truth. Among these, the first *Bible Society* appeared in the year 1780, and announced its intention to oppose the rapid progress of "decay in piety and religion," and "to preserve among the people, especially the Navy and Army, a sense of duty and a spirit of devotion."

For these purposes, the Society diligently proceeded to settle such correspondences with all the sea-ports in the British dominions as should ensure a distribution of Bibles, adequate to all demands, among the sailors of his Majesty's navy. Equal attention was paid to the army; and the numbers distributed soon amounted to many thousands. Mr. Sharp appears among the liberal supporters of the institution *.

* * *To Granville Sharp, Esq.*

"Sir, "Finch Lane, 7th August, 1782.

"I take the liberty to thank you, in the name of the Bible Society, for your generous subscription to that useful institution, and enclose one of the Society's bills, where you will find the sum you have subscribed affixed to your name.

"I am, very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"A. MARTIN."

This society, after a lapse of a few years, was succeeded by another under a similar title, and with views of a similar nature, but formed on enlarged grounds and a more extensive scale. This is the well-known *British and Foreign Bible Society*, established in 1804 *.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The circumstances which gave birth to this society are stated, in the "History of its Establishment," to have been the general want of Bibles among the poorer classes in Wales, and the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply from any of the religious societies then existing. The necessity of resorting to some new and powerful method of remedying this deficiency having been strongly urged in a meeting of *the Religious Tract Society* (in December 1802), the first proposal for a general dispersion of the Scriptures throughout the world was there suggested †. Inquiries were next directed to be made, both on the continent and in every part of the united kingdom, respecting the wishes and wants of the poor in regard to religious instruction, and the degree in which those wants had been hitherto supplied.

An "association of Christians at large" being consequently proposed, "with a view exclusively to the circulation of the holy Scriptures," a plan was drawn up to that effect, and a public meeting was convened (by a circular address), relative to the formation of the Society, whose object should be "to promote the dispersion of the Scriptures in some of the principal living languages, first over the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and afterwards remoter regions, as the state of the finances may admit, or the urgency of particular cases may require."

The appointed meeting was held on the 7th of March 1804, and the Society was then instituted under its present title, a liberal

* The former Bible Society has since assumed the title of "The Naval and Military Bible Society."

† The proposition originated with the Rev. Joseph Hughes, a Baptist Minister, and one of the secretaries to the present society.

subscription commencing at the same time for its support. The meeting consisted, in part, of Clergymen of the Established Church, and of Dissenters of every description (including Quakers); and a Committee was formed, composed in a similar manner, of Laymen, Churchmen, and Dissenting Ministers.

A general meeting of the subscribers and friends of the Institution being again called on the 2d of May, in order to revise the plans of the Society, the Reports of the Committee were read, and the constitution, as amended by the Committee, received the sanction of the general body*. Lord Teignmouth was then elected president; and a prospectus was published, declaratory of the views of the Society†.

The Institution was soon afterwards strengthened by the patronage of the Bishops of London and Durham, and by the accession of the Bishops of Exeter and St. David's to the office of Vice-Presidents.

As the establishment of the Bible Society is still in active progress (and an authorised History of its transactions has lately been given to the world by the Rev. Mr. Owen‡), it is unnecessary here to enter into any further detail. The part which Mr. Sharp took in the Society is also found in Mr. Owen's History. His name stands first in the list of those who signed the circular notice for convening the first public meeting; and it was the sight of his name that called the historian's attention and desire to the proposed object.

* In the revision of the plans, the Committee was remodelled. It was determined that it should consist exclusively of *laymen*, to the number of thirty-six; six of whom should be Foreigners, resident in or near the Metropolis; and of the remaining thirty, one half should be members of the Established Church, and the other half members of other Christian denominations. The Clergy and Ministers in general, who were members of the Society, were at all times to have a seat and vote in the Committee.—*See History of the Bible Society*, p. 58.

† The following are the first two articles in the Laws and Regulations of the Society.—

"1. The designation of the Society shall be the British and Foreign Bible Society; of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the holy Scriptures, without note or comment. The only copies in the language of the united kingdom to be circulated by the Society, shall be the authorized Version.

"2. This Society shall add its endeavours to those employed by other Societies for circulating the Scriptures through the British dominions; and shall also, according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan."—*Ibid.* p. 74.

‡ "History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society."

"At this meeting," says Mr. Owen, "amounting to about three hundred persons, of different religious denominations, Mr. Granville Sharp was unanimously called to the chair; and so strongly was he impressed with the importance of the object, that, notwithstanding his almost unconquerable aversion to occupy a place which implied such distinction, he obeyed the unanimous call, and presided accordingly*."

He again presided at the second general meeting, on the 2d of May of the same year, when the constitution of the Society was finally determined †.

The First Report of the Society contains the following letter:—

Lord Teignmouth, President, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Clapham, January 9, 1805.

"It is with the sincerest satisfaction, I execute the instructions of the Committee of the Bible Society, in returning their most cordial thanks to you, for the very valuable collection of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters, in different languages, which you have presented to them.

"I cannot, indeed, but feel a peculiar gratification in the opportunity thus afforded me of expressing the sense entertained by the Committee, of the great value of the donation itself, as well as of the high estimation in which they hold the donor.

"That Providence may long continue to you, with every blessing, the enjoyment of a life which you have adorned no less by your talents than your virtues, is the unanimous wish of all, and of none more sincerely than of him who has the honour to subscribe himself, with the greatest regard and esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"TEIGNMOUTH."

* Vol. i. pp. 36 and 38. † Ibid. p. 61.

"In Granville Sharp, who presided at the Society's formation," adds Mr. Owen, "the cause obtained a temporary patron, in whom the members of the Establishment acknowledged a true Churchman, and real Christians of every denomination a friend and a brother. Perhaps it would not have been possible to find, throughout the British dominions, a man in whom the qualities requisite for the first Chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society were so completely united as they were in this venerable philanthropist. A churchman in faith, in charity a universalist, he stamped upon the institution, while it was yet tender, those characters which suited its constitution and its end; and while he made it respected by the sanction of his name, he improved it by the influence of his example."—*Page* 83.

The collection alluded to in the President's letter contained nearly forty different printed versions of the Bible and New Testament, either whole or in parts*.

		DATE.
* ARABIC	New Testament, published by Erpenius. Small 4to. *Leiden.*	1616
	Psalter. 4to. ..... *Rome.*	1519
BATAVIAN (or *Dutch*)	Old and New Testament. Small 8vo.	1608
	New Testament. 24mo.	1699
	New Testament, with French and English Versions. 12mo.	1684
CALEDONIAN (or *Scotch Gaelic*)	New Testament, with Rules for reading that Language at the end, 8vo.	1767
EGYPTIAN (or *Coptic*) & LATIN	Pentateuch (curâ D. Wilkins). 4to.	1731
ETHIOPIC and LATIN	Psalter (curâ Ludolphi). 4to	1701
ERSE (or *Irish*)	English Liturgy, in Saxon character. At the end are the elements of the Irish language. 8vo	1712
GOTHIC	New Testament, translated by Bishop Ulfila, A. D. 360; to which are added, Versions in Islandic, Suethic, and Latin. 4to.	1671
GREEK (*Modern*, or *Vulgar*)...	The Epistles—(the first vol. containing the Gospels being lost)—collated with the original Greek. 4to...	1638
HUNGARIAN	Bible and New Testament. 8vo. ..... *Utrecht.*	1747
	N. B. Of this edition 3000 copies were burnt by the Papists.	
HUTTER'S { Version in twelve Languages, beside the Original Greek, }	BOHEMIAN, DANISH, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, HEBREW, ITALIAN, LATIN, POLISH, SPANISH, SYRIAC } of Matthew and Mark. 4to. ..... *Norimberg.*	1599
ITALIAN	Bible, with marginal references to parallel Texts, cited by the Rev. Mr. Crutwell, in his Concordance of Parallels. Folio.	1562
	Bible, translated by Deodati. Folio.	1607
	New Testament, with marginal references to parallel Texts. 12mo. ..... *Pinerd.*	1576
MALABAR	New Testament, Malabar character. Small 4to. *Madras.*	1777
MALAYAN	Four Gospels, English character. Small 4to. ... *Oxford.*	1677
MANKS	Bible and Testament. Folio. ..... *Whitehaven.*	1775

MOHAWK

Mr. Sharp's diligence and liberality, in behalf of succeeding Institutions formed with similar views, appear in various documents.

The following memorandum is marked "*to be enclosed in the little parcel of books presented to the Bible Society at Calcutta, by G. Sharp.*"

"MEMORANDUM.

"The Author of the books enclosed in this parcel has been induced to present them to the Bible Society at Calcutta, for their public library, by an earnest desire and hope, that two of them may prove useful to the Eastern translators of the holy Scriptures, because they contain rules of syntax drawn from examples in the original text both of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures;—rules which have never been fully explained in any other grammars, as the Author has been informed by several competent judges.

"At the end of the Hebrew Tracts, the Author has added, in MS., an account of one additional rule of Hebrew syntax, which was proposed to him by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, the learned Dr. Horsley, with the remarks made upon it by G. S.; which addition, he hopes, will render the system of Hebrew syntax perfectly complete, so as to enfranchise the students of Hebrew in future from the arbitrary shackles of that most perplexing and unreasonable system of *vowel points*, by which our Hebrew Bibles are most shamefully disfigured. See Tract I. pp. 63, 64; and Tract III. pp. 28, 29, on that subject*."

		DATE.
MOHAWK	St. Mark's Gospel; also Prayer-Book, Mohawk and English.	1787
	Primer. 12mo. *London.*	1786
SPANISH	New Testament (Castilian). 12mo. *Venice.*	1556
	Old and New Testament, with marginal references, collated by Mr. Crutwell, in his Concordance of Parallels. Folio.	1560
	Apocrypha and New Testament, by Cyprian de Valera. Folio. *Amsterdam.*	1602
	New Testament, by Ditto. Small 8vo. *Ditto.*	1625
	Pentateuch, by Yosseph Franco Serrano. 4to. *Ditto.*	1695
	Version of the English Liturgy. 8vo.	1715
SYRIAC	New Testament. 12mo. *Hamburgh.*	1663
VIRGINIAN INDIAN	Bible, by Elliot, of America. 4to. *Cambridge.*	1685
WELCH	Bible and Prayer-Book. 12mo. *London.*	1630
	Ditto and Ditto. 8vo. *Caer Grant.*	1746

Appendix to the First Report of the Bible Society.

* Notice of these works will be found in the account of Mr. Sharp's Writings.

MS.—"1812. October 5. Bible Society. Received thanks for advice in printing Hebrew and Greek Scriptures."

[This advice was contained in a letter addressed to the Secretaries of the Society.]

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Of this venerable society, established in 1701, Mr. Sharp became one of the members in the year 1785, and took an active part in their proceedings. His Manuscript Notes give frequent evidence of his regular attendance on the meetings; but they contain no allusion to any particular transactions of the society, excepting what has been seen in a preceding part of these Memoirs, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*. It does not appear that he spoke in the meeting on the subject alluded to in that letter.

The only record in the Reports of the Society, in which he is in any degree particularly concerned, relates to the success of his solicitation, in the same letter, for the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Fraser to accompany the first expedition to Sierra Leone†.

He made a donation to the society of the works of his father, the Archdeacon of Northumberland, and likewise of several of his own tracts.

* Page 262.

† "At a meeting of the Society, 20th October, 1786: The Archbishop of Canterbury having acquainted the Board, that Mr. Richard Fraser had been ordained Deacon and Priest by the Bishop of Ely, in order to accompany a number of Blacks going to settle at Sierra Leone in Africa as their minister; and a letter being also read from George Peters, Esq., recommending him to the benevolence of the Society; it was resolved, That the Society do appoint him their Missionary, with a salary of fifty pounds per annum, to commence at Michaelmas last; and that the Society furnish him with some books."—*Reports of the Society.*

The object of the Society is limited by charter to Foreign Parts, and more especially to the plantations, colonies, and factories beyond seas, belonging to the kingdom of England. Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters are employed by this Society in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, Cape Breton, the Bahama Islands, the coast of Africa, New South Wales, and Norfolk Island. The Missionaries are supplied with books for a library, and Bibles, Prayer-books, and small religious tracts, to distribute among their people, as occasion may require. The Society is directed entirely by Members of the Established Church of England.—*See History of Bible Society*, vol. i. p. 22.

In the year 1808, his aid was solicited towards the establishment of another religious Charity, for *the Conversion of the Jews.* The proposal is contained in a letter from which the following is an extract :—

The Rev. Thomas White to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" 10th December, 1808.

" At this time I am particularly interested by the benevolent attempts which you have made to attract the attention of the Jews to the evidence which their own Scriptures afford to the Messiah. The addresses to them, which you have interwoven with the critical part of your work [on the Hebrew *Vau*], convince me that you would rejoice to forward their conversion. Various circumstances induce me to think that the present is a favourable season for attempting it; and, from conversations which I have had with several benevolent and pious persons on the subject, I feel persuaded, that, were a Society instituted, consisting of members of our Established Church, for the sake of promoting the conversion of the Jewish nation, it would meet with considerable encouragement. Your exertions in one noble work of charity have been rewarded by the most glorious success, and will, I doubt not, add unspeakably to the joy reserved for you in a better world. The object to which I now take the liberty of calling your attention, is one even more important; it is one which the Divine promise assures us shall ultimately succeed; it is one of which the promoters will, I am persuaded, obtain the blessing of the Most High.

" It would give me great satisfaction to converse with you on this subject, and I shall feel much obliged by your naming a time when I might wait upon you.

" With sincere esteem and respect," &c. &c.

It is to be remarked, that this letter was written a few months after the first meeting of an association of benevolent individuals, whose object was then declared to be that " of visiting and relieving the sick and distressed, and instructing the ignorant, especially such as are of the Jewish nation," but who, in the ensuing year, were finally designated by the name of " THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS." There is much obscurity in the early history of this institution. One of its most liberal and active

patrons has stated, in a late publication*, that it is difficult to trace clearly the progress of the society from its origin. Its charitable intentions appear to have been announced, at its rise, under various descriptions; and it does not appear unlikely, that the communication of the sentiments contained in the above letter, if aided by Mr. Sharp's approbation, might have contributed to fix the unsettled designs of the associated members under the title which they now bear†. No reply to the letter appears among Mr. Sharp's papers. He presented to the society one of his tracts, entitled "Jerusalem," and his name stands in the list of subscribers (as does Mr. White's also) to the year of his decease‡.

AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

The life of Granville Sharp is but a history of the continued progress of Christian charity and human amelioration. In his high

* Letter to the Bishop of St. David's, by the Rev. Lewis Way, of Stansted.

† The first meeting above alluded to took place in August 1808; and that in which the resolution was carried for adopting the present title of the Society was held in March 1809.

The designs of the Society were at the beginning carried on under the influence of Joseph Samuel Frey, a native of Germany, who had renounced Judaism, and had been sent over to this country, on the request of the London Missionary Society, to receive ordination (as a Dissenting Minister), and thence to proceed to preach the Gospel to the Hottentot Africans, at a settlement which the (Missionary) Society had formed in the South of Africa, for the purpose of offering instruction in Christianity to the Natives. But after Frey's arrival in England, he felt a strong prepossession to endeavour the conversion of his fellow-Israelites in this country; and his efforts receiving the countenance of several benevolent persons, he was ultimately induced to separate himself from the Missionary Society, and was elected President of the small Association above alluded to, for promoting the temporal comfort and religious instruction of the Jews. His conduct was at first exemplary, but did not afterwards correspond with the respect due to his situation.

The *London Society*, as it was at first composed of Churchmen and Dissenters without distinction, was conducted under their joint management; and for some years the instruction imparted by its agents was of so general a nature as not to call any differences of doctrine into question; but when, on the enlargement of its funds, its plans were extended to the education of young men as preachers of the Gospel to the Jews, the unavoidable distinctions of opinion in the different parties were found materially to embarrass its operations. At length, at a General Meeting, in 1805, the Dissenters, engaged in the management, agreed to retire, and to leave the Society entirely under the direction of Members of the Church of England; at the same time promising (a promise which they afterwards fulfilled) to recommend the Society to their respective bodies.

‡ Reports of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.

example we may discern *the value of a single step of virtue.* His early action of humanity to a distressed Negro brought on the freedom of slaves in England, and, in its consequences, led to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the other singular events which have been related. His charitable attempt to restore to social comfort those whom he had rescued from slavery, and to provide a home for them in their native land, laid the foundation of African culture and commerce; and by having given birth to the establishment at Sierra Leone, which is still the central spring of our benevolent action in that part of the globe, he will justly be entitled to be called, in future ages, the *first civilizer of Africa.*

If the important efforts now making for the improvement of Africa should ultimately attain their end, and diffuse over an immense continent that light, and those blessings, from which it has been so long excluded, to Granville Sharp the gratitude of future generations must be offered. That his thoughts were long turned to that object, various papers, superscribed "*African civilization,*" sufficiently demonstrate.

When the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company declared the surrender of its rights to the British Government, they, almost at the same moment, announced the birth of another Institution, formed for the purpose of saving from the power of fortune those advantages which, in spite of every discouragement and of failure itself, had been demonstrably proved to have been gained to the general condition of humanity. The *Sierra Leone Company* had fixed the basis of African civilization; and, though unsuccessful in the full attainment of the original plan, and finally driven, like its first Founder, to the necessity of resigning the establishment into more powerful hands, it had formed a necessary ground-work for the beneficent advance of that strength to which it appealed for the protection of its invaluable purposes. It had ascertained the power of introducing agriculture, friendly commerce, and freedom itself, into Africa. It had shown, that all the various natural products, brought from the West Indies, might be raised on the African soil; that the Native Chiefs might be made

to perceive the full interests of peaceful communication; and that Negroes, in a state of freedom, might be habituated to labour in the fields, and were capable of being governed by mild laws, without whips, tortures, or chains to enforce submission to civil authority. If insubordination appeared for a time among a part of the settlers, their conduct in those circumstances, when compared with *European* colonists in other parts of the globe, afforded a result even advantageous to the African character.

But, what surpassed all other benefits, the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company had created a point of confidence for the Natives in the sound of friendly intentions, *when professed by an Englishman.* Although a sceptic of Africa *might still doubt* the existence of an anxious disposition to diffuse improvement and knowledge among the natives of his country, independently of all views of interest, the experience of twenty years had yet made it *possible* for him to believe, that British voyagers might court his acquaintance without designing to kidnap his family, or betray himself into slavery; and he might, like Felix, be "*almost persuaded*" that the blessings of mutual benevolence and good faith were not universally denied by nature to European traders*.

In the commencement of the attempt to support the *colony of freedom* at Sierra Leone, the Company had undertaken to bear the whole expense of the enterprise; and, if the richest channels of wealth had been opened, the mother country could not have failed to reap the

* See First Report of the African Institution, p. 43.

I shall add one more anecdote to the many already extant on this subject. It was related to me by an amiable and highly respectable nobleman, lately deceased, the early part of whose life had been passed in his Majesty's service in the Navy; and I shall give it in his own words.—

"The late Admiral Matthew Buckle commanded a small squadron on the coast of Africa, and had a broad pendant on board the *Assistance*, of fifty guns. One day, while at anchor on the coast, a Negro came off with his canoe, loaded with fruits, and all that he had that was valuable. The Commodore being on the quarter-deck, the Negro accosted him with '*What ship this?*'—The other replied, in the jargon of the country, '*King George ship, man of war ship.*'—The Negro replied, doubting, '*No, you Bristol ship.*'—The Commodore repeated what he had said; but the Negro felt his fears increase, and, exclaiming '*Dom your heart, you Bristol ship,*' leaped overboard, leaving his canoe to its fate.....I scarcely need add, that the canoe was humanely towed on shore, where the owner was most likely to find it."

fruits of success, though she incurred no charges of government or protection. When the Company was afterwards compelled to solicit relief from the Minister, it received a liberal pecuniary aid; but it still wanted the most desirable protection of the parent state from that devastating traffic, in the place of which it strove to substitute the natural relations of human intercourse. It in vain solicited Parliament to banish the horrid trade from that narrow region of Africa, in which the settlement was formed. English slave-mongers were permitted, to the last*, to trade even in the river of Sierra Leone, and, by every means of artifice and malice, often to divert the unfortunate settlers from their better views.

Yet, even on the ruins of the fabric, in which the hopes of the individual philanthropist who had planned, and the liberal and powerful Company who had fostered the design, had alike expired, a new association dared to found its structure, as on a basis at once of convenience and security, on which "schools might be maintained, useful arts might be taught, and an emporium of commerce established, by those whom its patronage might animate, or its information enable, to engage in such undertakings†."

With sentiments of this nature, and renovated hopes, the AFRICAN INSTITUTION presented itself to the public. It announced its design, "to improve the temporal condition and the moral faculties of the natives of Africa; to diffuse knowledge, and excite industry, by methods adapted to the peculiar situation and manners of the inhabitants; to watch over the execution of the laws that have been passed in this and other countries, for abolishing the African Slave Trade; and, finally, to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe‡."

* The Act for prohibiting the Slave Trade was passed on the 25th of March 1807. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company agreed to the surrender of the colony into the hands of Government on the 7th January 1807, and the Bill for its surrender was brought into Parliament on the 8th of August following. The actual surrender was made on January 1, 1808.

† First Report of the African Institution.

‡ Second Report of the African Institution.

To accomplish these stupendous views, it proposed no purchase of territory, no commercial speculation, no colonial settlement, no religious mission; but "to collect and diffuse instruction concerning the natural productions of the country, its agricultural and commercial capacities, and the condition, as well intellectual as political, of its inhabitants; to introduce and promote among them letters, arts, medical discoveries, improvements of husbandry, and methods of useful and legitimate commerce; to establish amicable correspondences; to encourage enterprise in exploring the unknown interior, not merely to gratify curiosity, but to obtain and disseminate useful knowledge; and to open sources of future intercourse*."

This Institution was formed in April 1807, at a period which "appeared eminently fitted for prosecuting its benevolent designs; since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave Trade commonly carried on by France, Spain, and Holland, might naturally be expected, when combined with the effect of the abolition laws of Great Britain, America, and Denmark, to produce nearly the entire cessation of that horrid traffic, along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby to afford a peculiarly favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa†."

Of the progress and effects of this Association likewise, while it is hourly exerting itself in the eyes of Europe and of the world, any recital would be here superfluous.

Mr. Sharp was chosen one of the first Directors, at the advanced age of seventy-three; and the duties, which it was occasionally his part to execute, were performed by him with the same zeal and activity, which had distinguished the early part of his life. He assisted regularly at every meeting, even to the last but one previous to his decease.

In the year preceding that event, he was called on to present to his

* Second Report of the African Institution. † Ibid.

Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester (the Patron and President of the Institution) an account of his exertions in favour of African and American freedom. He accordingly presented a copious MS. (from which many parts of the foregoing narrative have been selected), and received the following answer:—

Colonel Dalton to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" Sir, " February 27, 1812.

" I beg to inform you, that I have had the honour to lay your MS. before his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, as I was instructed to do by your accompanying letter. I am honoured with his Royal Highness's commands, to convey to you his high approbation of the zeal with which you have so invariably and effectually forwarded this good cause,—a cause so near the hearts of all humane persons. I am also directed to assure you of the pleasure it is to his Royal Highness, to be put in possession of the MS. you have presented him with.

" I must not close my letter without obeying strictly the further instructions I have been honoured with from his Royal Highness, to express how sensible he is of the real benefit, such valuable and strenuous exertions have procured to this interesting cause in which we continue to be engaged.

" I have the honour to be, Sir," &c. &c.

PROTESTANT UNION.

The year 1813, the last year of Mr. Sharp's life, was distinguished by an Association denominated *the Protestant Union,* formed for the purpose of defending, by the sole weapons of argument and reason, a cause which the members held most sacred,—the cause of *religious freedom.*

The admission of Papists into offices of political trust and power was at that time openly demanded by men of a leading character in Ireland; and a Bill was brought into Parliament, by which their political freedom, or *emancipation* (as it was termed) from all the restraints imposed by various Acts of our Legislature, since the time of James II., was solicited from the Government of Great Britain, *as a right.*

The following account is from a member of that Association :—

"Mr. Granville Sharp had uniformly opposed the system of Popery, most conscientiously believing that it was utterly subversive of the principles of genuine liberty, as well as of our Protestant Establishment.

"When, therefore, the *Roman Catholic question* was agitated, from the lively interest which he took in it, and from his frequent conversations with several friends on its great importance to the united kingdom, it was at length agreed to convene a meeting of respectable persons firmly attached to the principles of the Constitution, as established at the Revolution, (but unconnected with party, and having no political purposes whatever to serve); and calmly and dispassionately to consider the subject.

"A meeting was accordingly held, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on the 22d January 1813, when Mr. Sharp was called to the chair. After some discussion, the Address and Resolutions, published by the Protestant Union in their first paper, were unanimously adopted.

"These Resolutions were reprinted and circulated in Ireland, and had a great effect in rousing the dormant spirit of Protestantism in that country. The Protestant Union was encouraged by the warm approbation of many eminent characters throughout the United Kingdom, and Mr. Sharp received many high eulogiums on the principles developed in their papers."

The principal aim of the arguments used by this Society, was to separate distinctly the *two objects*, *Religious* Freedom and *Political* Freedom. They asserted the *former* to be already fully possessed by the whole body of Roman Catholics; and that the *latter*, of course, was the true object of the Bill presented by them to the Parliament, and was coveted, not for the sake of the *whole body of Papists* (the lower classes, necessarily, not being within the reach of its consequences), but by that class alone, which, from its rank in life, would be enabled to possess what would accrue from its attainment. To this reasoning they added, as an incontrovertible argument, that the religious freedom,

enjoyed by the Roman Catholics in the united kingdom, would not in return be allowed to the Protestants (and other religious descriptions of men), if the Papists should return to political power, because the *positive* and *unalterable* tenets of the Papal religion were intolerant of religious establishments of all other descriptions; and, therefore, that the establishment of a Protestant Church was the only real source of universal religious freedom.

"In their second paper," continues the same account, "they issued a series of *Questions, respecting the demands of the Roman Catholics,* which have never been answered to this day.

"The Protestant Union also published some extracts of their correspondence with Ireland, exemplifying by facts the principles held by the Roman Catholics*.

"The publications of the society were sent to all the Members of Parliament in both Houses. But as *The Union* had no desire to raise any popular clamour against the Roman Catholics, but simply to bring the subject before the public *upon principle,* they did not call public meetings, or use any methods to create prejudice.

"The last meeting of the Protestant Union, during the life-time of Mr. Sharp, was held on the 1st of March, on which day the question, having undergone a previous debate of four days in the House of Commons, was carried in favour of the Roman Catholics by a majority of forty. *The Union,* therefore, finding its efforts ineffectual as to this great point, ceased from its exertions; the cause appearing to all the Members to be lost, and it being deemed the remaining *duty of all* to submit peaceably to the determination of the Government. But their hopes were not destined so soon to perish. On the 24th of May, in one of the largest assemblies of the House of Commons ever known, when the last stage of the Bill in favour of the Roman Catholics was in a Committee of the whole House, the Speaker (Mr. Abbott), after a most powerful and impressive speech, proposed,

* An "Appeal to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland" was published in the subsequent Papers of the Protestant Union, in reply to an "Address" by Charles Butler, Esq.

as an amendment to the Bill, 'that the first clause, which was, *to admit Roman Catholics into Parliament*, be struck out;' which motion, after a long and warm debate, being carried by a majority of 251 votes to 247, the other clauses of the Bill were given up, and the power of the Protestant Establishment remained unshaken *."

In all the meetings of The Union, Mr. Sharp exerted himself with unabated vigour of mind, and gave the most useful support to the cause. He spoke frequently, and with great firmness; and he corresponded with several eminent persons on the subject of the Bill †. Notwithstanding his great age, his faculties were still strong and clear; and his thorough acquaintance with the distinctions of religious tenets enabled him to enforce his feelings by the most animated and convincing arguments. Never, in the long course of his public efforts, had he shown more conspicuously the superior treasures of his powerful mind, or excited in his associates sensations of higher respect. All the Reports, and other numerous papers of the society, were submitted to his inspection and sanctioned by him, previous to their publication ‡; and several of them received his corrections. The flame of life played actively within him, and darted peculiar lustre, at the moment when it was about to quit its mortal tenement for ever. The strenuous exertions of his faculties, indeed, on this important occasion, probably accelerated the final period of his labours; and if he expressed no conscious triumph at closing them in a cause which he deemed transcendently meritorious, it was because he re-

* On the renewal of the Roman Catholic Petition, the meetings of the Protestant Union were resumed, Stephen Cattley, Esq. being called to the chair; and, at the last meeting, April 17th, 1819, previous to the intended debate in the House of Commons (which took place on the 3d of May), a Series of Resolutions was drawn up, and sent to every Member of both Houses of Parliament.

† "His knowledge" (adds the writer of the account before given) "of what Popery was and ever will be, and his sense of the fatal indifference of good-natured Protestants, which will sooner or later be their destruction, rendered his services of great use. In this society he spoke more, and attended more frequently, I believe, than in any other."

‡ The *Twenty Resolutions*, in particular, which were passed in the first meeting, and the *Series of Questions* proposed to the Roman Catholics, in the second meeting, received his hearty approbation and concurrence. They are drawn up with singular ability and force.

garded the dispensations of his Creator with equal awe, and with equal submission, at all moments of his worldly course.

The MS. Notes contain the mention of Mr. Sharp's attendance on several other charitable and religious societies, but afford no particular notice of their concerns. At the Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem the remembrance of his name is accompanied, as usual, by that of his benevolence. In the early part of the time in which he was a Governor, he paid great attention to the condition of the Prison and the Prisoners, and particularly to the introduction of work among them. The Minutes of the Committee bear ample testimonies to this solicitude. In the year 1800, a year of remarkable scarcity, he addressed a Letter to the Clerk of Bridewell Hospital, proposing that, instead of the usual annual dinner, the Stewards, who were to have furnished the expenses of it, should apply a sum of equal amount towards the necessities of the Patients in Bethlehem Hospital; and, in consequence of his Letter, a Motion to that effect was made and carried, at a special Court, held on the 15th of May.

He was also a Governor of St. Luke's Hospital for many years, and one of the Auditors of the Treasurer's accounts, but took no other active part in its management, not being on the Committees.

The other Societies mentioned in his Notes, at which he appears to have attended more rarely, are the African Association, Palestine Association, Refuge for the Destitute, Hibernian Society, Society for the Protection of Young Women, Female Penitentiary.—Dr. Bray's Society occurs frequently.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART V.

DOMESTIC CHARACTER OF MR. SHARP.—HIS DECEASE.—PUBLIC RESPECT SHOWN TO HIS MEMORY.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART V.

TO HIS MEMORY

PART V.

CHAP. I.

WHILE perusing the public usefulness of this extraordinary man's actions, let us not forget to accompany him in the progress of his domestic life, in the bosom of his family, in the retirement of his private hours, and in the social intercourse of friendly relations.

A long course of years had necessarily brought with it a numerous train of those affectionate interests, which, often delightful, sometimes painful, but always valuable, form the richest treasures of the heart. It is not difficult to conceive, after what has been related, that Mr. Sharp was as attentive, as constant, as active, in all concerns of a domestic nature, as if those alone had constituted the whole employment of his time. But we may yet be surprised to learn, that he even allotted to them a *preference* above all other occupations and engagements; and that, averse from that obdurate system of morals which once reduced the world to servitude, he believed, that in the *public* actions of his life he was performing only its *secondary* duties*.

* This character he gives in excuse of himself in a letter to the Archbishop of Cashel, 22d February, 1806.—

"I have, besides, my Lord, a propensity to postpone business of consequence from time to time, *in favour of common current business* and engagements of a more trivial nature, but which daily press upon me."

Whoever has considered the human faculties, will have perceived, with wonder, how far beyond the reach of calculation, both in number and extent, are the springs which set them in action. That the mind requires intervals of absolute rest, is a maxim which will have sometimes appeared to be the doctrine of indolence, or the inference of a sick bed. The *mens sana in corpore sano* seems to find its needful refreshment in the change of its object; and to feel, at every recurrence, that its powers have been renovated, perhaps augmented, during the change.

In Granville Sharp, an incessant impulse of desire to relieve the sufferings and contribute to the happiness of others, led the philanthropist onward without adverting to the length of his march, or the difficulty of his way. He even accused himself of *slowness;* but what estimate should we form of men in general by such a standard?

In fact, that unaffected simplicity of conduct which marked even his most arduous exertions, the produce of a truly pure but powerful mind, preserved him untired, because unhesitating and unembarrassed, amidst the difficult trials to which his philanthropy exposed him; and, unlike to visionary theorists, he found neither cause nor reason to abandon for doubtful enterprise the near regards of the most common circumstances, still less the most common *duties*, of social life.

In his home, no part of his character was more remarkable than the even cheerfulness of his temper, and the facility with which he at times consented to dismiss every thought connected with business or study, in order to join in the amusements of all ages, even of children. How eagerly did the little females of his brothers' families watch the opening of his study door, as the signal for their mirth and play! How gaily did the sound of his tabor and pipe set their nimble feet in motion; or his ready pencil delight them by delineations of birds, beasts, or other familiar objects! Of the company of young persons in general he was, indeed, peculiarly fond; and he behaved to them with a kindness which nature had poured into his breast with an overflowing measure, and which met its full return from their cheerful and artless feelings.

When sickness visited, or the pressure of circumstances afflicted, any one of his affectionate brothers or sisters, he flew to them, to aid and to console them. It has been noticed, in a preceding part of the narrative, with what promptitude he devoted himself, on the death of his brother James, to the care of his large and difficult business, and with what assiduity he brought his task to its completion. In the summer of 1783, James being dangerously ill, he had accompanied him to Weymouth, with delusive hopes of his recovery. In the autumn of the same year he returned thither, accompanied by his brother William, to bring back the dying invalid. "We arrived in town," says Granville, "in the evening, my poor brother being *in extremis*. I lifted him out of the chariot, and carried him myself into his own house." Two days afterwards he expired, and Granville attended his funeral as chief mourner.

With the same affectionate solicitude he hastened to his elder brother John, Archdeacon of Northumberland, at Durham, to attend him in his last hours, in 1792.

Besides the above deprivations, he had lost two other brothers, and two of his sisters, in the course of the events that have been related.

But the heaviest of his afflictions was yet awaiting him. He had one only brother and sister still remaining: the latter, Mrs. Prowse, of Wicken Park, in Buckinghamshire, was at Fulham in the spring of 1810, with his brother William and Mrs. Sharp, who were anxiously watching over the declining health of their daughter. These now formed the whole of the family circle resident at that place. William was sinking under the gradual decay of age, and deep parental concern. Mrs. Prowse, apparently healthy, was seized with illness, and at the end of five days expired—a pure Christian, benevolent in life, and full of hope in death. Granville was, as usual, on the spot, comforting and assisting*. His behaviour was composed, but grave. After her decease his whole attention was occupied by his brother, whose infirmities were rapidly increased by this new affliction. But,

* He received from his sister's lips, and wrote, her will, the day before her death; and attended her while she received the sacrament, in the midst of her family, including, at her particular request, two little girls, her grand-nieces.

being named his sister's executor, it was necessary for him to repair to her late family residence at Wicken Park, in order to dismiss the establishment and vacate the place for her successor. He went, accompanied by the daughter of his late brother James, to a scene which brought back the varied recollections of family endearments. The business, which it was necessary to transact on the occasion, agitated him so greatly as to render him sometimes, for the space of an hour or two, incapable of making the requisite exertions.

During this painful occupation, accounts arrived of the alarming increase of his brother's illness. To the surprise of all around him, he was reluctant to leave Wicken, and was with difficulty prevailed on to assent to an immediate return to Fulham. He questioned the messenger: he strove to discredit his report. It seemed as if he could not bear to be convinced that his beloved brother's life was in imminent danger. He, however, set forward.—While on the road, a second dispatch brought the melancholy tidings that his brother was no more. When fully assured of the reality of his loss, "*God's will,*" he exclaimed, "*be done!*" and shed tears copiously. A long silence ensued, till, turning to his companion, he opened a Bible, which he had brought in the carriage, and read aloud several detached sentences from the Psalms; selecting such as were most applicable to their present distress, and translating them (for his Bible was a Hebrew one) in language, to which the solemnity of the moment gave the most impressive and affecting expression.

Throughout the whole of these severe trials his sorrow was deep and silent, tempered with resignation, and with a perfect composure which solaced and strengthened those who wept around him; his conversation dwelling more on the blessings which were still accorded to them, than on those which were withdrawn.

Two years after the loss of his brother William, his affliction was renewed by the death of one of his nieces,—an event which sensibly affected the short remaining portion of his life*.

* He has left the following memoranda of the death of his sister and his niece.—
"23d February, 1810. My dear sister Prowse yielded up her calm and truly Christian

As Granville had continued unmarried, his brothers' houses were for many years his general residence; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1792, that he took chambers in the Temple for the purposes of various business that pressed upon him. In his brother's families, he was an example of the most kind and considerate behaviour towards the domestics of every class, who were as assiduous and as anxious to serve him, as he was careful to avoid giving them unnecessary trouble. For himself, he never at any time of his life retained a male servant: a feeble old woman was his only attendant at his chambers.

His benevolence, so universal to mankind, could not fail to be extended in just proportion to inferior animals, of whose nature he had ever been a close and studious observer. While a boy, he had been fond of taming them, and had always a favourite dog or cat, jackdaw, bat, or lizard. His occupation at the Ordnance gave him frequent opportunities of visiting the *menagerie* in the Tower, and he studied, with much observation, the peculiar dispositions of each animal. When in the country, he delighted no less in the various characters of the *more friendly* tribes of inferior creatures. In fact, nothing in creation, whether animate or inanimate, escaped his notice, his admiration, or his benevolence. But he more particularly applied the lesson, which was the result of his observations on other animals, to a scrutiny of the human bosom. He perceived, in the conduct of men toward the creatures destined to their use, an *unsuspected test of moral character,* by which he might safely ascertain the worth of every man's heart, and the grounds of his action toward his own species*.

spirit to her Heavenly Father this night, seemingly without the least sensibility of pain or suffering."

" 28th December, 1812. Yesterday I received a most afflicting letter from my sister Sharp, at Dawlish, Devon, giving me the melancholy account of her daughter, my dear niece, Mrs. Baker. She received the holy Sacrament on her death-bed; and being most sincerely prepared for the awful change, she resigned her meek spirit to God, without a sigh or groan, as if her departure was only in sleep."

* The last entry in his common-place book being on this subject, will be found in the

In the exercise of his religion, he was careful to preserve a behaviour free from ostentation; but it was at the same time firm, and profoundly reverential. As he rose early, his first employment was either reading the holy Scriptures, or chanting a portion of the Hebrew Psalms to his harp. His evenings were closed in the same manner. When in London, he regularly attended the service of St. Paul's, and joined in the choral part*. In the respective families of his relations he regularly *attended*, and generally *read*, the Morning and Evening Prayers from the Liturgy. He was constant in his attendance on Divine worship twice, if possible, every Sunday, and never omitted any opportunity of receiving the sacrament. But his devotion, like every other part of his action, was simple. He disliked long sermons, particularly if preached extempore, and would often tell his friend ————, "Thou shalt not be heard for thy much speaking." He objected to *extempore* preachers, because he thought it presumptuous in any man to venture to deliver his sentiments and opinions on subjects so momentous, without notes at least, when they might be so much better arranged in the closet.

He, in general, observed all the Fasts and Festivals. He was, indeed, in the habit of fasting frequently; but it was performed in a way so unobtrusive, that few persons were aware of the strictness with which he practised this religious duty. In his MS. Notes, in the year 1800, he mentions that he *dined at his chambers every day in Passion week*, with the exception that no notice whatever is taken of Good Friday, whence it is probable that *that* day was observed with more than common abstinence. He avoided travelling, or entering on any secular business, on Sundays; sacred music being his chief recreation on those days.

At all other times he was a frequent traveller, chiefly in public stage coaches, where he greatly enjoyed the mixture of characters

Appendix. The following passage occurs in his tract "On the Injustice of Slavery:"—"At present, the inhumanity of constrained labour in excess extends no farther in England than to our *beasts*, as post and hackney horses, sand-asses, &c. &c. But thanks to our laws, and not to the general good disposition of masters, that it is so; *for the wretch who is bad enough to maltreat a helpless beast, would not spare his fellow-man, if he had him as much in his power.*"

* See Mr. Shield's letter, in the Appendix.

which he met with, and where he not unfrequently found the means of exercising his benevolence. One day, going to his brother's house at Fulham in the stage-coach, a fellow-passenger, impatient at the ordinary delays attendant on conveyances of that kind, burst forth into expressions of immoderate rage, mixed with frequent oaths. Granville sat silent, taking no notice, in any manner, of his companion's fury; but the next morning he called on the angry traveller, and gently, but effectually, reproved him for his intemperate and unchristian behaviour.

His ever-active humanity was as unostentatious as his religion. Sufficient examples of it are at large before the world. But it had not been more constantly exercised in *public* concerns, than in the private incidents of every day. He appears never to have refused, or neglected, any application made to him of a charitable nature.—

From a poor *imprisoned* Author, well known to many by his annual request of subscription to a pamphlet "On the Improvement of the Law of England *with Regard to Imprisonment for Debt*," he orders three copies to be left for himself.

When the celebrated singer, Signora Frazi, was returning to Italy, some pecuniary embarrassments, though of a trivial amount, detaining her on her road in France, it appears, by her letter of thanks, that he sent her a small sum, sufficient to relieve her difficulties.

At another time, an anonymous writer requested of him a loan of thirty guineas: his plea was *distress*, and *the desire of concealing it;* and the excuse for his application, his confidence in Granville's benevolence. Mr. Sharp's answer does not appear:—it was not of letters of this kind that he preserved copies. But a second letter from the unknown petitioner expresses his acknowledgments to him, for explaining his circumstances so openly to a stranger, and for *ten guineas* which had been sent with the explanation. What more ensued is not now to be traced *.

* It is, perhaps, to this transaction that General Oglethorpe thus alludes in the beginning of one of his letters. "The manner of your acting towards that unfortunate young gentleman, is a new proof of the universal charity which animates your actions."

The following sentence, in a letter to Mr. Sharp from the late Governor Thicknesse, is similarly characteristic: "I asked my relation, the ——— of ———, for his subscription, which he readily consented to; but he did not say, like the generous Sharps, 'Put down my *wife*, my *brother*,'" *&c. &c.*

This tenderness of sensibility toward the woes of a fellow-creature increased with his age; and even the decay of life, while it gradually impaired the necessary discrimination of proper objects of his bounty, did not abate the benevolent desires of his heart. The consequence of his infirm state, at the time when his last public actions were in progress, was that of which the world (unfortunately for *real* sufferers) presents too many examples. He became a prey to the entreaties, importunities, and sometimes almost the menaces, of hundreds, who pleaded resistless poverty as a species of *right* to every thing that he possessed. The doors of his chambers in the Temple were beset, from morning to evening, by a promiscuous assembly of poor and idle, who awaited his coming with the utmost vigilance, and who, at the first moment of his appearance, assailed him on every side. There is reason to believe, that, in the course of his latter visits to his chambers, he deprived himself, for the sake of his mendicants, of every article of value that could in any way be useful to them *.

As a British *subject*, he evinced in all his actions his loyalty to the Sovereign, and his zealous veneration for the Constitution of England. During the alarming riots in 1780, an armed association being formed within the Temple, where he was then resident, he solicited permission to head the body of pikemen, who constituted a part of the proposed defence †.

* On his retiring to Fulham, during his last illness, the same importunate applicants followed him thither, and were with difficulty restrained from a frequent repetition of their visits, although several were proved to be impostors of the most disgraceful condition.

† His definition of loyalty, in a note attached to his admirable conclusion of his friend Benezet's "Account of Guinea," deserves to be selected. "There is loyalty even in the law of liberty; for true loyalty, according to the strict meaning of the word, consists not only in a zealous attachment to the person of a sovereign, but includes likewise a conscientious and incorruptible observance of all those moral, as well as temporal laws, which are calculated for the mutual benefit and happiness of society."

In his general demeanour, although always serious on important points, he never assumed any rigour of manner or conduct, nor did he abstain from the common recreations of mankind. He occasionally attended plays, operas, balls, and concerts; and his acquaintances were numerous among all ranks.

He belonged for many years to a club called the *Madrigal* Society, where the constitutional vivacity of his disposition enabled him to join in and promote every innocent effusion of gaiety. The Members of the Club still speak with unabated respect of their venerable Associate, whose presence (as they report of him) "never cast a gloom over their meetings, although it imposed that salutary restraint, which prevented the utterance of an impure expression, sentiment, or song, during his continuance among them *."

But no intimacy of friendship, or familiarity of intercourse, even amid the ardour of youthful spirits, ever diminished the awful regard with which he at all times contemplated the higher hopes of our nature. In youth, he was the intimate friend of Sir William Jones; and when that amiable man was departing for India, Granville, in their farewell interview, addressed him thus: "We have talked together on many subjects: we have not yet spoken on the most material one, *our reliance on the will of our Creator in all things.* You are leaving us for India. I have drawn up a collection of prayers: suffer me to present it to you, and to entreat that, when you are far removed from me, you will adopt the use of it." Sir William Jones replied, that "his request was a high gratification to him, and he was glad to be able to say that he was himself *constant in prayer*."

It is probable that a collection of prayers, found among his papers, is the same which he then presented to his friend.

Nothing, indeed, was more remarkable in Mr. Sharp's social intercourse, than the firmness with which he delivered his most serious opinions on many ordinary occasions, and the unembarrassed simplicity with which he uttered them, blending religion with almost

* I have been favoured with this anecdote by a Member of the Madrigal Society.

every topic, both in conversation and in writing. An anecdote, communicated by a friend who witnessed many of his virtuous labours, very forcibly expresses his character on this point:—

Once, in a Committee of the Sierra Leone Company, after a long discussion of the difficulties which had impeded the progress of their undertaking, he suddenly rose, and said with warmth, "All these impediments arise from *our great enemy, the devil,* against whom there is no power of resistance, except by fervent prayers to God."

The extent of his belief in distinct agencies under Divine permission, is shown in his remarks on a passage of Gibbon's History, among his printed tracts: and it will be seen also in a short note, demonstrative of an internal feeling, which requires no comment:—

MS.—"1767. Sept. 10, quarter past five A.M. Was severely warned about my own slowness, which prepared me for the next business."

He showed himself on every occasion friendly to all pursuits of literature, though his own peculiar learning was of so different a nature as scarcely to be included under that denomination. He embraced the knowledge which he acquired, only as the means of advancing virtue and piety among mankind. In a letter to Dr. Witherspoon, in America, sent with a large present of books to the public library at New Jersey, he says,—"I sincerely wish the promotion of sound literature in America, and more especially the two great objects and purposes of it, true religion and virtue."

His general custom, and constant desire, to spread the instructions conveyed in his works, by presenting them gratuitously rather than by exposing them for sale, has been noticed. The following letter will show the temper with which they were composed and issued.

G. S. to Mr. William Sharp.

"Dear Brother, "Garden Court, Temple, 7th July, 1807.

"I have finished my '*Warning to the Quakers,*' a copy of which is enclosed in this parcel for you: but you must not part with it to any other person,

because I am under promise to the Quakers not to give it to any persons but members of their Society, except occasionally to a Roman Catholic, or a Swedenburgian.

" I have delivered two copies to Mr. W. Birkbeck yesterday, that he may consult some of the most prudent of their Society, in what manner the book may be most advantageously distributed among them*." &c. &c.

Two alone, of his numerous works, were printed by himself for sale,—the tract " on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in Great Britain," and that " on the Greek Article." The obvious utility of the first of these probably appeared to him sufficient to justify its publication. For the publication of the latter, one of his notes furnishes the motive :—

MS.—" After the tract was finished, it was postponed or neglected for nearly twenty years, from 1778 to 1798, and would not even then have been produced to the public, if my very worthy and learned friend, Dr. Burgess, now Bishop of St. David's, had not undertaken to be the editor of it. He printed two different editions of it; and the bitter objections of some scurrilous Socinians spurred me up at last to answer them in a third edition."

That the *opinion* of a man so conscientiously upright, should be anxiously sought on difficult subjects, and in cases of a doubtful nature, will not excite wonder. Accordingly, he appears to have been consulted on points of conduct and conscience in numerous letters, to some of which the replies are found in his Correspondence.

On all such occasions, whether in writing or in discourse, his manner of delivering his sentiments was gentle, but his phrase was earnest and expressive. The mode and tenour of his discourse on all important subjects was didactic. His deep and powerful, but diffuse arguments, were of a nature that did not easily allow of

* There is also among Mr. Sharp's various papers one containing similar observations respecting the Roman Catholics, but it has escaped my search on the present occasion (1820).

conversation. The hearer might listen, and would not fail to listen with pleasure and instruction, but must be contented to receive the doctrine in whatever form it was delivered, without modification.

These peculiarities are among the distinctions of a strong and good mind. Others, and greater, will also appear. It is requisite that some alloy should be found mixed with so much virtue, lest the character should appear the fabric of fancy, and the reader should forget that he is perusing the history of a mortal like himself.

His counsel was always of the most salutary kind. When an American of Baltimore (of the name of Joseph Townsend) wrote to him, to acquaint him that, from respect to his great virtues, he had given the name of *Granville* to his (third) son, Mr. Sharp replied, (after acknowledging the pleasing instance of his regard) "I sincerely wish that your son may live and improve to the satisfaction of his parents; and, as you have been pleased to give him our family name, I must request you to teach him a favourite maxim also of the family;—'*Always endeavour to be really what you would wish to appear.*' This maxim, as my father informed me, was carefully and humbly practised by *his* father, whose sincerity, as a plain honest man, thereby became the principal feature of his character, both in public and private life."

Nor can it be matter of surprise, that such a man should be thought desirable as a trustee in numberless instances. Two considerable ones have been mentioned; and Mr. Clarkson has stated, in his *Obituary Notice*, that "he was almost continually harassed by applications from others, to take a part in their affairs, and to see that justice was done them, where they had considered themselves to be aggrieved. There was, also, such a general notion of his integrity and justice, that many, both friends and strangers, pressed him to become the executor of their wills, and the guardian of their children. Mr. Sharp was willing to oblige all. We do not recollect for how many persons he was at one time a disinterested agent in such concerns; but it was so great, that the office became an entire burden on his time, and he was obliged at last to

prevent the spreading of the evil, by refusing all other applications of the same kind."*

That he merited the confidence which his sincerity and religious zeal inspired, is confirmed (if any proof were wanting) by an occurrence, which derives importance from the eminently virtuous character with which it is connected.

Among his *MSS.* is one thus inscribed, "A Letter by G. S. to the Author of a Tract on Prophecy, entitled '*Application of a Prophecy in the Eleventh Chapter of Daniel to the French War.*'" To this superscription is added, in the hand-writing of Mr. Sharp, the following notice, which discloses a circumstance probably little known, and of no common stamp in the annals of the political world. "The anonymous writer, to whom this letter was addressed by G. S., *as an unknown Author*, very soon afterwards acknowledged the receipt of it, as well as his full approbation of the contents. That Author was *the late very worthy and learned Spencer Perceval, Esq.*, at that time his Majesty's Solicitor-General, but afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. During all the time of his last high and important office of Prime Minister, he steadily maintained a just and proper sense of the anti-Christian principles of the papal apostacy, and regularly, to the day of his death, opposed the false and mistaken benevolence of the inconsiderate advocates for what they call *Catholic Emancipation*."

* The following anecdote, concerning a trust consigned to him, is from a friend before mentioned. "My acquaintance with Mr. Sharp originated in the circumstance of my being professionally engaged in the conduct of a commission of bankrupt under which he was an assignee. The concern was of great magnitude, and involving questions of considerable intricacy, as connected with many trusts and collateral estates. With the detail of these Mr. Sharp did not interfere, but he was painfully anxious that the most ample justice should be done to every individual creditor and claimant, and never failed to urge the productive employment of the balances in hand for the benefit of the estate, and that the dividends should be paid with the least possible waste and delay. It is almost needless to add, that he never directly or indirectly retained one shilling of the estate in his hands, and was only apprehensive that the debt, in respect of which he had proved on the estate, might not have been sufficiently investigated; and on the subject of one of the dividends I had many interviews and a long correspondence with him, as to a supposed error in his favonr, which, after much difficulty, I was enabled to elucidate to his satisfaction."

In person, Mr. Sharp was thus described in a periodical publication, at the time of his decease :—

Stature . . . . . middle size;
Countenance . . . . clear;
Gait . . . . . upright;
Motion . . . . . sprightly.

This description is sufficiently accurate. His figure was well formed, and in his youth he must have been esteemed handsome. In the later years of his life (when chiefly he was known to the Writer of these Memoirs) he was exceedingly thin, but proportionally active in his gait and motion. His *air* denoted his mind: it was frank, lively, and unaffected. In all intercourse which was merely social, a strong bias to humorous associations was happily blended with the philanthropic expression of his countenance, and rendered his address and conversation interesting alike to the young and old.

In manner and behaviour he exhibited much of that polished courtesy and attentiveness to others, which is considered *not to be of the present time;* and he had no less of that urbanity which is subject to no *modes*, but which is the ornament of all societies, and distinguishes the *gentleman* of all times.

When walking in the streets, which was usually with a rapid pace, he appeared abstracted in thought, and indifferent to all that was passing around him; but on recognising any friend who accosted him, he *gave himself* instantly and wholly to him, and his thoughts flowed so fully towards the interest thus excited, that he seemed to have forgotten every other object.

His deportment towards his superiors was respectful and easy; his self-possession, even in the presence of Royalty, being uniform; towards his common acquaintance, obliging and communicative; towards his inferiors, attentive and humane.

MISCELLANEOUS MEMORANDA.

Some additional, though less important, memoranda, taken from Mr. Sharp's MS. Notes, for which no place in the narrative obviously presented itself, are proper to be here added, as contributing to the display of his opinions and affections, and of his constant and various actions.

"1786. May 26. Met Dr. B——, who talked of Dr. Johnson in the highest terms. When I replied, that I thought he was apt to build arguments on false foundations, and contrary to natural rights, he said, 'Dr. Johnson thinks, that the *garrulosity* of the people about their rights did infinite harm, and is injurious to good government and morality.' Thus the quondam professed advocate for popular rights and liberty has swallowed the perverted notions of the *pensioner*, and indiscriminately adopted his groundless sophistry, in favour of passive obedience, and, in his own words, *garrulosity*."

"July 1. Attended Serjeant Rook, Lincoln's Inn, on the arbitration for damages in favour of John Cambridge, a Negro, against Captain Holman."

"9th. Waited on Lord Dartmouth, in behalf of Daniel Simon, a Nasaganset Indian, and in Orders. His Lordship gave me ten guineas for him."

"1786. January 10. Mr. Strasburg, a Jew, read the two texts on Jeremiah exactly like myself."

"11th. Called on Mr. Shiph, priest of the Portuguese synagogue."

"12th. On Mr. Moses, priest of the Dutch synagogue."

"16th. Read to Mr. Shiph, the priest of the Portuguese synagogue, the answer to the queries which he gave me."

"1793. July 16. Attended at Guildhall, and was bound to prosecute the young man and boy who picked my pocket on the 11th. Jocelyn, the constable, swore to the fact. I only swore to my property, and that I had lost my handkerchief.—(The trial about the 3d of September.)"

" September 11. Old Bailey. Attended the grand jury at eleven o'clock, against George Whiteman and Mackey, two pickpockets. The bill was found. Afterward, at three o'clock, I attended the sessions. The Recorder, Sir John Rose, ordered the trial immediately. Both were convicted. I told the Recorder I wished the prisoners might be permitted to enter the King's service, and I would clothe them. He promised to respite their transportation till the next sessions, to allow time for their entering and getting employment."

" 1794. March 17. Fulham. Employed in making remarks on Lord Hawkesbury's plan of militia, &c."

" 1796. January 20. This morning Antonio Barrat, alias Molasco, called on me. He was just returned, exchanged by cartel, from a French prison-ship. I saved this man, and another Negro, Henry Martin Burrows, from on board the ship Albion, Captain Jeremy Barton (*on the 4th of February*, 1788), where they were concealed, to be sold as slaves. Both had escaped from prison in the Havannah to a boat, in which they put to sea, without provisions; were ten days without eating or drinking; and were taken up at sea by the Albion. I sent Antonio to Sierra Leone, in the Myro brig, in 1788 (about July), and he stayed at the settlement with the first settlers, till it was destroyed by the Natives; after which, wandering on the coast, he went on board a slave-ship, where he was detained, until taken by the French."

" 1796. March 26. Sent letters to two Sierra Leone settlers in Haslar Hospital."

" 1797. March 23. Left with the Archbishop of Canterbury the papers on divorce. Wrote in the catalogue of books sent to Sierra Leone about the necessity of a test."

" April 12. Rev. Mr. Trowers; and delivered to him Remarks on his works, and also Remarks on Evans."

" June 28. Called on Mr. King, the American Ambassador, to enforce the necessity of *frank-pledge* in America."

" 1798. May 18. Society for Propagation of the Gospel: spoke to the Archbishop about *schools* at Sierra Leone."

"September 3. Colonel Tatcham called about his new work of embanking fens, &c. Sat the whole morning, from half past eleven to three o'clock, in searching etymology of words for him."

"1800. At a general meeting, chosen one of the Trustees of the London Library."

"1804. December 8. The Bishop of St. Asaph called on me, and has consented to form a compendium of my rules for the Hebrew Syntax."

"1806. October 8. Wrote to the Bishop of St. David's about forming a compendium of Hebrew Grammar and Syntax, which the Bishop of St. Asaph (Horsley) had undertaken, of whose death I was informed last night."

"1813. January 14. The whole morning with Mr. Way, at my chambers, talking on religious subjects."

CHAP. II.

IT now remains to relate that humiliation of mental and corporeal faculties, through which many, even the holiest men, have been ordained to pass to eternal life. After the last meeting of the *Protestant Union* in 1813, Mr. Sharp's efforts were few. He had for some months experienced a failure of quick recollection, wholly unusual to his ready and methodized intellect. At the meetings of the African Institution, he rarely took any share in the discussions; and, though he was welcomed with a respect approaching to veneration, the advantages, which his powerful mind had so long continued to afford, were no more to be gained from his presence. At those of the Bible Society, though he did not wholly forbear to express his sentiments, his arguments were vague; his reason wandered from its aim; and regret and silence were all that was left to his hearers, when he ceased to speak. He seemed, however, less aware than his friends, of the rapid change that was taking place, and he persevered in a strict attendance on the public meetings of both establishments. These exertions were contemplated by his anxious family with a dread which the affections of our nature prompt on such occasions. They entreated him to desist; but in vain: he could not consent to yield a post which he thought it his duty to maintain. One effort, at length, which had nearly proved fatal to him, turned the scale, and compelled him to submission.

Since the death of his brother William he had principally resided with his widow, at Fulham; from whence he made many occasional excursions to his chambers in the Temple.

In the month of June, 1813, having made an offer of some books to the Temple library, he thought it requisite to attend in person to the delivery of them, and proposed a visit to London for that purpose.

Every argument, which affection could dictate, was urged to dissuade him, but all proved ineffectual. The offer of the family-carriage was then withheld, in the hope that forgetfulness might prevent the apprehended evil. But at breakfast-time the next morning he did not appear as usual, and, on inquiry, it was found that he was gone to London in the stage-coach. A servant was immediately dispatched after him; but he had left his chambers also. He returned with the stage to Fulham in the afternoon; said he had packed and sent his books, but had had no food, and was nearly exhausted. His danger had been imminent. It appeared that the coachman who conveyed him to town, perceiving his altered state, had felt considerable anxiety on his account, and, as soon as he had settled the business of the coach, went in search of him to his chambers, at the door of which he found him, wandering about in a state of incertitude, being unable to guide himself to the part of the town that he designed to reach. He was easily persuaded by the warm-hearted coachman to go back with him to Fulham, and was thus happily preserved from more distressing accidents.

The term which bounds mortality now rose to Granville's view. But, although formed, by the fixed habits of a pious mind, to a submissive acknowledgment of the dispensations of Providence, and a cheerful resignation to the Divine will, he beheld the approach of death not wholly without emotion. The ardent prosecution of his religious studies had gradually led him to indulge a persuasion, which many of sainted memory have felt, that the epoch foretold in Scripture, when the reign of holy men shall be established on the earth, was on the eve of its commencement. He conceived that it might even precede the natural period of his own earthly existence. The encouragement of this favourite idea had tended insensibly to exempt him from the apprehensions of a time, when the consciousness of Being was to be suspended under the hand of death. That expectation was now shaken;—in *what degree* shaken, or how far the soothing image might yet have continued to impress his soul with belief, during

the remaining portion of his existence here, is known only to that All-seeing Mind, to whom the hearts of men are open, and who, amidst the darkness of decline and death, is to the righteous an everlasting light and glory *.

The distress, which the approaching loss of this excellent man brought on a house of which he now remained the sole male representative, needs not be described. He was attended with the most faithful care and tenderness; and the even, although rapid, decay of life within him, allowed almost to its last hour the melancholy pleasure of viewing him still forming a part of the small domestic circle, at the once happy mansion of Fulham. On the day preceding his death, he breakfasted as usual with the family. His weakness was much increased; and he was several times compelled to lie down on his bed during the course of the afternoon. He appeared often to labour for breath. Night, and partial repose, came on. In the morning, his countenance was changed—in colour only;—in expression it remained unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or a sigh, he breathed his last †. His decease was a gradual (and, to those who watched around him, an imperceptible) decline into total rest. He

* An anecdote of an extraordinary nature is related of Mr. Sharp on the above-mentioned point. From an opinion which he had adopted, of the striking resemblance of many actual circumstances of his own time to those which, in the scriptural prophecies, are believed to announce the happy state of the good on earth, he had encouraged in his mind a belief that the desired period was speedily approaching, and once, in the fervour of his hopes, declared its probable arrival *in the ensuing spring*. Being then in company with several ministers of the Gospel, he was asked by one of them if he did not speak of these things *doubtingly*. "*Not at all*," was his reply, "*but as a positive truth*." Mr. H———, a Baptist preacher, exclaimed, "What would we give, Mr. Sharp, for such a faith as yours!"

† Some circumstances, just now communicated by a near relation, are too interesting to be wholly omitted.

During the further decline of his strength, he frequently entered the room where the family were assembled, and, taking a seat near to them, continued—sometimes for hours—to look stedfastly on them, appearing pleased with being in their company, but without uttering a word.

When on his death-bed, his two widowed sisters were his constant attendants. To the last he continued frequently to look at the family portraits, which hung round the room, with the most earnest and affecting expression, as if tracing the resemblances, and then naming them, one by one—"My dear Father," "My good Mother," "My dear brother William." These affectionate ideas seemed to occupy his mind to the latest moment.

only ceased from his mortal state;—and who shall presume to judge, if the prepossession of his pure and holy feelings was not in that moment accomplished? He ceased from life, when that life could no longer be powerfully exerted to combat the pride, to promote the virtue, and enlarge the happiness, of his fellow-creatures. May it not be pardonable to think, that Providence had allotted to a creature of so pure a spirit the entire development and use of his high faculties in this his station, and that their exhaustion was the signal of his departure? The talent, which had been entrusted to him, was faithfully disbursed, and he returned to the bosom of the Giver!

He expired on the 6th July, 1813.

The news of his death immediately drew forth marks of the highest respect from the public bodies, with which he had been connected. Among the Directors of the African Institution, Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Wilberforce expressed their desire to accompany the funeral of their lamented companion: and, a meeting being summoned, the Duke of Gloucester, announcing with tears the loss they had sustained, proposed that Mr. Sharp's executors should be requested to allow a deputation of their Society to pay the last tribute of respect to his person, by attending his remains to the grave.

The circumstance is thus honourably noticed in the Eighth Report of the African Institution.—

"Since the last General Meeting, the Directors have been deprived by death of the assistance and services of their venerable coadjutor, Mr. GRANVILLE SHARP.

"As a mark of the high esteem and respect, which was entertained by the Board, for one, who not only had been an active and unwearied Director of this Institution, from the time of its first establishment almost to the close of his long and well-spent life, but also one of the earliest and most able instruments, under Providence, in promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Board deputed *two* of the *Vice-Presidents*, and *three* of the *Directors*, to represent them at the funeral; which was also attended by some other distinguished Members of the Institution."

The Bible Society was not behind-hand in its tribute of peculiar respect. The following advertisement appeared in all the public papers:—

"BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

"At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, on Monday the 2d of August, 1813:

"The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published.

"It having pleased God, in the course of his providence, to call Granville Sharp, Esq. to his heavenly rest, the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society feel a mournful pleasure in recording their veneration for his character, and their gratitude for his services. In him, the Committee recognise the venerable person, under whose auspices the Society was formed; the earliest and largest benefactor to their library; and one of the most regular, diligent, and useful attendants at the meetings for the transaction of business. While the Committee acknowledge the obligations of the Society to the extent and accuracy of his Biblical learning, they feel it their duty to bear particular and affectionate testimony to the integrity of his mind, the simplicity of his spirit, and the philanthropy of his heart. The Committee desire to bless God for having continued so long among them an instrument of so great usefulness; and they trust that the benefit of his labours may be perpetuated and extended by the influence of his example.

"JOHN OWEN,
JOSEPH HUGHES,
C. F. A. STEINKOPFF, } *Secretaries.*"

Nor were the expressions of gratitude, which the remembrance of his useful labours had called forth, confined to the metropolitan societies. At a meeting of the Shropshire Auxiliary Bible Society, held on the 13th July, 1814, the Rev. Archdeacon Corbett, in an affectionate encomium on Mr. Sharp's character (from which the following is an extract), noticed with particular distinction his public services. He remarked, when announcing the business of the day, that "they met under circumstances which excited no ordinary feeling, as they had to regret the decease of the first Chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society."

"I had the honour" (continued the speaker) "and the happiness of his acquaintance for nearly the last thirty years of his existence upon earth. He was learned in no common degree: he was humble in the greatest degree. His benevolence knew no bounds; and his piety was exemplary. He may be looked upon, in his earlier exertions, as the author of whatever degree of personal

liberty has been since restored to the inhabitants of Africa; and we view him, in his later labours, contributing to mature that plan by which the freedom of religious truth is now offered to all the world.

"Though nurtured in the bosom of the Church of England, he was her zealous disciple not so much from education as from conviction. He was deeply read in all the principles of natural and revealed religion; and his learning was more particularly employed in studying the writings of the Old and New Testament in their original tongues. . . . . .

"I have a satisfaction in repeating, that this amiable man, to whom the term *Orthodox*, in its purest and best sense, may be perhaps more exactly applied than to almost any other person, was one of the early promoters of that plan by which the Bible is disseminated."

His remains were, on the 13th of July, deposited in the family vault at Fulham, the funeral being attended by Thomas John Lloyd Baker, Esq.; the Rev. John Hutton; Granville Wheeler, Esq.; Gregory Esley, Esq.; and John Erskine, Esq., relatives;—and by the Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart; Lord Calthorpe; William Wilberforce, Esq.; Thomas Babington, Esq.; Rev. John Owen; Thomas Harrison, Esq.; Sir Charles Blicke; and John Bayford, Esq.;—and by the family servants.—The Service was read by the Rev. William Wood, Vicar.

The following epitaph, written by the Rev. John Owen, Rector of Paglesham, in Essex, was placed on the north side of the tomb.—

HERE,
BY THE REMAINS
OF THE BROTHER AND SISTER WHOM HE TENDERLY LOVED,
LIE THOSE OF
GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.
AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-EIGHT, THIS VENERABLE PHILANTHROPIST
TERMINATED HIS CAREER
OF ALMOST UNPARALLELED ACTIVITY AND USEFULNESS,
JULY 6th 1813;
LEAVING BEHIND HIM A NAME
THAT WILL BE CHERISHED WITH AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE,
AS LONG AS ANY HOMAGE SHALL BE PAID TO THOSE PRINCIPLES
OF JUSTICE, HUMANITY, AND RELIGION,
WHICH, FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY,
HE PROMOTED BY HIS EXERTIONS,
AND ADORNED BY HIS EXAMPLE.

To the former affectionate testimonies of respect was added another, of a still more public nature, announced in the same Report of the African Institution.

After noticing the deputation of Directors who attended Mr. Sharp's funeral, the Report proceeds :—

" Not conceiving that they should acquit themselves of the debt of gratitude due to Mr. Sharp for his assiduous and unceasing efforts in the cause of the Abolition by this measure alone, the Board are desirous to pay a more permanent tribute of respect to his memory; and for that purpose have in contemplation to erect a Monument in Westminster Abbey, which shall record his eminent services in the cause of humanity."

The Monument, thus proposed, has been since erected, in that part of Westminster Abbey so well known by the name of Poet's Corner. The work is executed by Mr. Chantrey, and exhibits, in the centre, a medallion of Mr. Sharp; and, on one side, in low relief, a lion and lamb lying down together; on the other, an African, in the act of supplication (taken from the seal of the African Institution).

The following is the inscription, written by William Smith, Esq., Member for Norwich.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

GRANVILLE SHARP,

NINTH SON OF DR. THOMAS SHARP,
PREBENDARY OF THE CATHEDRALS AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF YORK, DURHAM, AND SOUTHWELL,
AND GRANDSON OF DR. JOHN SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

BORN AND EDUCATED IN THE BOSOM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
HE EVER CHERISHED FOR HER INSTITUTIONS THE MOST UNSHAKEN REGARD,
WHILE HIS WHOLE SOUL WAS IN HARMONY WITH THE SACRED STRAIN,
"GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE AND GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,"
ON WHICH HIS LIFE PRESENTED ONE BEAUTIFUL COMMENT
OF GLOWING PIETY AND UNWEARIED BENEFICENCE.
FREED BY COMPETENCE FROM THE NECESSITY, AND BY CONTENT FROM THE DESIRE, OF LUCRATIVE OCCUPATION,
HE WAS INCESSANT IN HIS LABOURS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND,
FOUNDING PUBLIC HAPPINESS ON PUBLIC VIRTUE.
HE AIMED TO RESCUE HIS NATIVE COUNTRY FROM THE GUILT AND INCONSISTENCY
OF EMPLOYING THE ARM OF FREEDOM TO RIVET THE FETTERS OF BONDAGE,
AND ESTABLISHED FOR THE NEGRO RACE, IN THE PERSON OF SOMERSET,
THE LONG-DISPUTED RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.
HAVING IN THIS GLORIOUS CAUSE TRIUMPHED OVER THE COMBINED RESISTANCE
OF INTEREST, PREJUDICE, AND PRIDE,
HE TOOK HIS POST AMONG THE FOREMOST OF THE HONOURABLE BAND
ASSOCIATED TO DELIVER AFRICA FROM THE RAPACITY OF EUROPE,
BY THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.
NOR WAS DEATH PERMITTED TO INTERRUPT HIS CAREER OF USEFULNESS,
TILL HE HAD WITNESSED THAT ACT OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT
BY WHICH THE ABOLITION WAS DECREED.
IN HIS PRIVATE RELATIONS HE WAS EQUALLY EXEMPLARY:
AND HAVING EXHIBITED THROUGH LIFE A MODEL OF DISINTERESTED VIRTUE,
HE RESIGNED HIS PIOUS SPIRIT INTO THE HANDS OF HIS CREATOR,
IN THE EXERCISE OF CHARITY, AND FAITH, AND HOPE,
ON THE SIXTH DAY OF JULY, A. D. MDCCCXIII., IN THE SEVENTY EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

READER,

IF, ON PERUSING THIS TRIBUTE TO A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL,
THOU SHOULDEST BE DISPOSED TO SUSPECT IT AS PARTIAL, OR TO CENSURE IT AS DIFFUSE,
KNOW THAT IT IS NOT PANEGYRIC, BUT HISTORY.

ERECTED BY THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION OF LONDON, A. D. MDCCCXVI.

CHAP. III.

MUCH has been said already of Mr. Sharp's character in previous parts of this narrative, and much will presently be added in the obituary recollections of his associates. It may yet be allowable to occupy a short interval with a few of such further remarks as the progressive view of his actions and undertakings has suggested.

In the varied and extensive course of his singular life, the reader has seen his conduct towards the great, towards his equals, and towards the poor and low; towards friends and strangers: he has seen him the champion of social rights, and of religious obedience and charity.

Equally void of diffidence and presumption, he claimed and obtained access to men in the highest situations of the state, less from the interest connected with his near descent from an Archbishop of York, than from the effect produced by the grave simplicity of his character, and an amenity of manners which could not be forbidden or resisted. The facility of intercourse with the great encouraged him to think that he might, by their means, be useful to others. Hence the energy of his action with regard to the Slave Trade and Slavery, to the establishment of the colony at Sierra Leone, of Episcopacy and of Peace in the American Colonies.

Whenever he conceived that the interests of mankind were at stake, he discovered little or none of that artificial regulation of his thoughts, which is connected with what is called *worldly management*. In his plain declarations of religious or political truths, in his sudden introduction of great and momentous precepts, both in his conversation and letters, the fervency of his zeal bore not unfrequently the imputation of being abrupt and ill-timed. But these were distinctions which did not exist in his mind. He regarded life as a state of continued active preparation for the service of God: all times were,

in his estimation, the proper times for pursuing what was right to be done, and no time so particularly proper as the present instant. Pure and blameless in himself, he wished to wipe off the stain of sin from his race.

It was with this view of our human condition, that, venerating and vindicating the precepts of his Saviour and the just claims of his fellow-creatures, he stood forward, in the presence of all orders of society, to assert his own clear discernment of its obligations, and to arouse others to the execution of them; summoning every where the believer to the recollection and performance of his duty. Whether addressing himself to the Governors of our political State, or the Ministers of our religious Establishment, he considered them alike as especial and appointed instruments of one Eternal Principal, whose wisdom he humbly acknowledged and adored.

In his earnest applications to them on public concerns of religion or justice, he exhibited a singular union of the utmost firmness in the pursuits of his purpose, with the most entire and unvarying respect to their persons and public character. While he lost no advantage which his unreserved frankness in the expression of his sentiments could procure to his cause, and while he offered the most awful admonitions to the most exalted stations, he was never found to infringe on the reverence due to national dignity. Of this admirable deportment, several of his conversations and letters inserted in this narrative are sufficient instances.

But neither did the abject condition of poverty and distress, any more than the splendid privileges of rank and station, prevent him from beholding in all men their essential condition, and the natural claims of our earthly existence. He looked up through man to his Creator.

His benevolence was not more disinterested and pure, than it was active and firm; and though his course of action might often for moments be diverted by visionary hopes, he as often recurred to its direct path, and never failed to pursue its main purpose with effect.

He adopted no rash measures, he sought no subtlety, he rested on no subterfuge.

As he sought his universal rule of conduct in the Sacred Writings, while he made the interpretation of them the object of his most anxious study, he regarded his acquirements of knowledge, even from those Divine sources, as the *means* only, not the *end* of his wishes. His favourite text of Scripture was, "The tree which beareth not good fruit shall be cut down, and cast into the fire." He conceived that the doctrines of Christianity should not be confined to the pulpit, but should be carried uniformly into all the general concerns of daily life.

The high sense of his duty to the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures, never for an instant deserted him. No human wisdom or authority stood in competition with this paramount obligation. The strong conviction of this necessity preserved him calm, humble, modest, and even timorous, in private life, and rendered him in public action the most fearless of men. His conduct and deportment in all questions of national or religious importance, were most truly of an heroic kind.

If he felt ambition—and what elevated mind is devoid of that feeling?—it was that alone of treading in the steps of his Divine Master. To obey, and humbly to adore, although the first, was not the *sole* object of his heart. He wished, and he dared to hope, that he might be permitted to imitate the Perfection which descended from above, and to preserve in his frail vessel some portion of the purity of that light, which he had diligently sought for his guide. Had martyrdom been in his day a requisite proof of steadiness in the faith of a Christian, he was one for whom it might, without danger of fallacy, have been said, the grave had no terror, and death no sting.

The resoluteness of his character was very early formed. It was neither the result of long profession in the cause which he supported, nor engendered by its success. He has left in his memorandums a short account of a conversation with a friend in the year 1781 (while he was struggling in behalf of the West-Indian Slaves with little

external prospect of success), in which it appears that the disclosure of his intrepid spirit was too plain to be mistaken*.

He was, therefore, far from destitute of that enthusiasm which is the powerful and necessary ingredient in every great enterprise. He felt a confidence, which the integrity of his heart could well justify; and the results that attended his humble means of exertion led him secretly to acknowledge a protection, which surpassed the strength of man. Under the impression of such feelings many of his letters are evidently written; and, particularly in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he has described his persuasion, on reviewing the effects of his efforts, that a peculiar direction of Providence had guided his labours†.

The degree of Divine communication imparted to our mortal state, in whatever light it be regarded, must always furnish a topic of the most awful consideration. Whatever impression had been made in this respect on Granville's ardent mind, it is certain that his almost prophetic warnings were too frequently justified in the actual succession of events.

But in the commencement of his action he appeared to have been urged forward solely by a confidence in the rectitude of his aim. His distinguished course of benevolence was wholly practical, and only gradually led him to the accomplishment of the great objects, whose never-dying memory surrounds his tomb.

That he was an enthusiast in *one* point, who would wish to deny? He was an enthusiast in the doctrines of Christianity, *as delivered by Christ and his Apostles*; and he is among the proofs which the world has seen, that enthusiasm in those doctrines is productive of benefit to mankind.

* "Friday, March 23. Called on General Oglethorpe, who had been very ill, but much recovered. I read to him a part of my first letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, with which he expressed himself highly satisfied, and thanked God that he had lived to have those points so clearly opened to him: that, without the least degree of enthusiasm, he was satisfied God had made me an instrument of warning of this kingdom; that the actual accomplishment of heavy judgments in the kingdom, and its colonies, ought to convince me of it: that he feared I should be a martyr, because he trusted that I would honestly maintain my principles; but he hoped God would strengthen me to bear whatever might happen."……

† Part III. p. 213.

Ardent in the profession of his faith, he showed, by his humility, charity, and gentleness of manners, the pure Source from whence he derived his religion, and the Divine Pattern which was the object of his imitation.

It has been said, by the Author of the Obituary Memoir so often quoted, that "although Mr. Sharp was implacable towards the papal religion, he would not have hurt a hair of the head of any Roman Catholic." No remark can be more truly well founded. He did not consider the highest human virtue as exempt from error, or inconsistent with it. He lived in habits of friendship and intimacy with many men of all religious persuasions, and particularly with Roman Catholics and Quakers,—the two distinctions of religious profession against which some of his most severe observations were openly levelled.

"Having founded a faith precious to himself, he wished to propagate that faith: but zeal in him was tempered by mildness and benignity; and although he viewed some doctrines even with abhorrence (if so strong a term may be applied to so gentle a mind), yet he was ready to relieve the wants of all his fellow-creatures, without distinction of country or colour." Such is the character given by Archdeacon Corbett, in the eloquent eulogium before mentioned. "I had the melancholy consolation," he adds, "of visiting Mr. Granville Sharp a short time before his decease. Life was then rapidly retreating; but still his regard for others preponderated over every consideration for himself. His urbanity was undiminished; and even politeness, which in him was not fictitious, but natural benevolence,—his politeness, even at that awful period, was as active as ever."

In consequence of his tract, entitled "An Apology for an Apology," &c., he was largely engaged in controversial correspondence on the religious opinions and practices of the Quakers; and he conducted it with the same candour, manly firmness, and discretion, which at all times accompanied his researches. It was in this manner that the eminent rule of his ingenuous mind, described in his first letter to Dr. Fothergill, was enforced on the observation of those who acted with him. Let it now stand an example for our conduct in similar

points. The reader will pardon the single repetition in this place. —" Experience has taught me to make a proper distinction between " the *opinions* of men and their *persons:* the former I can freely " condemn, without presuming to Judge the individuals themselves. " Thus freedom of argument is preserved, as well as Christian charity; " leaving *personal judgment* to Him to whom alone it belongs *."

It is true, that, as a general maxim, Mr. Sharp's theory of separating the offender from the offence, differs from that of every good man in little else than in the *mode of declaration;* namely, that punishment, or coercion, should never be influenced by, or in any manner conjoined with, hatred or malice to the criminal. It is also universally admitted, and particularly as a Christian's duty, that we ought to do good to the worst of men, as far as we can do so without danger or inconvenience to those who depend on us (including ourselves), or to general society. But the world owes a debt of gratitude to any one who institutes a new form, or rule, of practical application, in concerns of general morality and importance to our daily happiness: and Mr. Sharp's maxim is valuable in this respect. It is easily born in mind; and, when put in practice, is of immediate efficacy in promoting mutual forbearance and benevolence among mankind.

Such, indeed, is the tendency of a far more extensive precept, offered to us in the whole tenour of his life. He displayed the

* Of his practice, founded on this principle, sufficient instances appear in his correspondence with the respectable Quaker to whom this letter was addressed; in a letter addressed to his friend Benezet, on similar topics; and in his letters to Dr. Lanthenas and others, at the period of the French popular Revolution.

One of his answers to Dr. Lanthenas proves the united complacency and strength of his mind. It is eminent as an example of the spirit of Christian benevolence, in which the Truth should ever be maintained.

A later letter, designed to have been sent to Benezet, appears to have been withheld, from the dread of giving pain to him in a state of health not calculated to support the conflict of argument. It is found among the MSS., and has this superscription:—" G. Sharp to Anthony Benezet: a second letter. G. S. wrote to A. Benezet July 1774, and Mr. Benezet replied in November 1774. Several years afterwards, in August 1783, G. S. promised an answer to the first letter of 1774; but before it was transcribed from the rough copy, a letter from Dr. Rush, dated 27th April 1784, informed G. S. that Mr. Benezet was then seventy years of age, and in bad health." A postscript of the same letter, dated 15th May following, mentions his death.

venerable example of an almost perfect peace of mind, preserved and maintained through a constant course of vigorous action.

Ever gentle and amiable spirit! may the seeds of charity sown by thee in so many hearts produce in their season an abundant harvest, and offer to the sight of the Creator a grateful return for his bounties! May the lesson of thy philanthropy be diffused over latest ages, and teach the child of man, while he aspires to chasten error in the strong, or lift the weak and wretched from the dust, to love and venerate, in all, the fellow-creature—the equal work of God!

Two letters, here annexed, will aptly close Mr. Sharp's history, and supply all that is yet deficient in the delineation of his character: the first sent to the Rev. Mr. Owen, on the day of Mr. Sharp's interment, apologizing for the absence of one of the Deputies named by the African Institution to attend his funeral at Fulham; the second from Mr. Owen himself, to the Writer of this Narrative, with such information concerning his departed friend, as a long intimacy enabled him to impart, and the reader will not fail to value as it deserves.—

To the Rev. John Owen, Fulham.

"My dear Sir,

"It was my full intention to testify to-day my regard and affection for our departed friend, by joining the mourners at his funeral. Owing, however, to the sudden illness of the only person who could supply my absence, I am compelled to substitute this apology to you, and, through you, to the friends of this venerable and lamented saint. I have been much mortified by this circumstance, not only as it deprives me of the opportunity of showing this last token of respect to this great leader in every work of piety and beneficence—this emancipator of Africa, this father of the Bible Society—but as it puts it out of my power to execute my part of the trust, delegated by the African Institution, of assisting to convey his remains to the house appointed for their repose, until that day arrive when all that was mortal of him shall put on immortality. I had anticipated no small benefit to myself, from having my thoughts turned to the contemplation of an honoured character, who, for near

eighty years, had stemmed the tide of oppression and corruption; who, animated by a simple view of his duty, and that Christian philanthropy which emanates from the love of God and Christ, stood before kings and judges in the cause of the friendless and the faint; who laboured for God and man with unexampled assiduity and perseverance, and who yet made no account of his labours; who waged no war but with the devil, and the works of the devil and the flesh; and whose highest enjoyment arose from the advancement of God's spiritual kingdom in his own soul, and from the anticipation of its full establishment in every heart. I verily believe that a purer and more upright mind, one more single in its aim and intention, and more unequivocally scrupulous as to the rectitude of his means, more simply directed to the glory of God and the good of man, has never left this world.

"Ever yours, my dear friend,

"ZACHARY MACAULAY."

From the Rev. John Owen.—[EXTRACT.]

(In reply to several inquiries.)

"My dear Sir, "Fulham, March 25, 1816.

....."I am not acquainted with the occasion of Mr. G. Sharp's writing and publishing his tract on several important Prophecies. He was a man of constant observation; interpreted all the passing events, political and religious, with a reference to Scripture Prophecy; and generally wrote and published under impressions for which a satisfactory account (I mean satisfactory to others) could not always be given. His principle was sound. He considered the world as under the administration of the Messiah, to whom all power had been given both in heaven and on earth. He regarded, therefore, every occurrence as forming part of that administration, and as ministerial to the purposes of Christ's spiritual kingdom. The Bible was his *text;* the events of every day were his *commentary*. The error to which he was liable (an error from which the wisest and the best have not been wholly free) was that of laying too much stress on the exactness of a mode of interpretation, which, from its very nature, must be doubtful and uncertain. In regarding the Papacy as the grand apostacy, and unrighteousness as the besetting sin of political authority, he was strictly correct. Nor can he be enough admired (or the grace of God in him) for the undaunted courage and unwearied perseverance with which he maintained these scriptural positions against every species of corruption, both in Church and State. But the love of his principle, and the influence which it had on

his own heart and conduct, would not permit him to make any, the least, allowance for the mixed and imperfect state of human affairs. He was for bringing back every thing to the standard from which it had deflected, and that with a degree of rapidity and decision often inapplicable to the case, and seldom compatible with a peaceful and orderly return to integrity and justice. I say this merely that you may know my opinion of what I must call his *errors*. These errors, indeed, are splendid sins; and I heartily wish the best virtues of some who have been, and are still, admired as great and good men, were not inferior to the worst of his errors. God appeared to have raised him up and qualified him for the work of political and moral reformation. He had, in a measure, the spirit and the power of Elijah: he was zealous for the Lord of Hosts, and he hated iniquity with a perfect hatred. With all his ardour for reform (an ardour which only expired with his life); he was full of loyalty and subordination. He revered the throne and the altar, and stood in the gap between those who would overthrow them, and those who wished to convert them into instruments of gain and oppression. In short, I would say of him, and can from a long and intimate knowledge of his character do so most conscientiously, that the Church had not a more dutiful son, the King a more loyal subject, and Mankind at large a more sympathizing friend and brother.

"His knowledge of languages, considering the limited nature and time of his education, was surprising. Besides his native language, he understood French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the Syriac and Chaldee dialects. For the acquisition of these he was principally indebted to his own exertions, prompted, not by an ambition for literary fame, but by a desire to understand the holy Scriptures in their original texts, and to possess the means of carrying into effect, both by reading and communication, the great purpose to which his life was devoted, that of promoting glory to God, and peace and good will among men."

"With great regard, &c. JOHN OWEN."*

* Besides the distinguished notices of Mr. Sharp's decease already mentioned, many other obituary tributes to his memory were ushered to the world in various respectable publications, from which some extracts are here subjoined, because they are evidently the effusions of sensible and pious minds, and have a tendency to strengthen the impression of so much worth on the reader, and, of course, to render the example more largely beneficial.

"At Fulham, on the 6th July last, died Granville Sharp, Esq., in the 78th year of his age;—a man of varied learning, and pre-eminent philanthropy; whose life was most actively and perseveringly devoted to promote the best interests of his species, under a deep sense of his responsibility to God. He was a man of singularly gentle and modest and courteous manners; but, in a cause which he deemed important, especially when it involved the rights either of his

Such are now the memorials of a name which, by a long progress of religion, virtue, and beneficence, has been rendered—not *illustrious,*

great Lord and Master or of his fellow-men, he was no less singularly bold and intrepid. With peculiar, and perhaps mistaken, views on some political and Biblical subjects, which might have exposed him to be undervalued by many as a man of understanding, and with a style of composition which was far from attractive, he nevertheless was a most efficient instrument in operating some mighty changes in the opinions and conduct of nations;—changes which will immortalize his name, while the idea of liberty is cherished, or fearless and unwearied and self-denying and successful exertions for the happiness of mankind are admired among men. But the praise of men was not the prevailing motive to exertion with this distinguished individual: he did what he did, as unto God.....

" He was truly the friend of the friendless. What he possessed, he regarded as belonging to the poor: he was himself but a sharer, in common with them, of the necessaries of life which it could purchase: and many are now doubtless mourning his departure, of whom the world knows nothing, to whom he had been as an angel of God, drying their tears, and causing their hearts to sing for joy!"—*Christian Observer.*

" Granville Sharp is now no more. Full of years, and far beyond any usual period for active exertion, when he took the chair at the meetings of the 'Protestant Union,' he no less wisely than benevolently gave the final sanction of his name to a measure the most necessary at the time 'for the defence and support of the Protestant Religion, and the British Constitution, as established at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1688.' This was his legacy to his country.

....." He was, to speak most briefly of him, a man in whom the truly constitutional love of liberty was exceeded only by a piety of the highest order and most judicious temperance; who studied politics only to benefit the community, and religion only to purify and defend his own faith, and that of his brethren. His benevolence was equal to his piety."—*British Critic.*

" We cannot refuse ourselves the gratification of dwelling for a moment upon a theme, consecrated in the hearts of all who revere exalted worth, and delight to contemplate a long course of quiet and peaceful, but unremitting, exertions for the liberties and happiness of mankind. In preserving the names of other virtuous men from the temporary oblivion into which more dazzling and perishable glories are wont to cast them, it is frequently necessary to exhaust the arts of composition, to display arguments which may convince, or to seek, amidst figures and periods, the road to congenial feeling. But he who would hold up this venerable philanthropist in the most striking light, has only to tell faithfully and plainly the story of his actions. Unaided by any authority or party in the State—before any of those benevolent institutions existed which have since done so much honour to the age—opposed by the opinions of lawyers and the most rooted prejudices of the times—he fought, by his single exertions, and at his individual expense, the most memorable battle for the Constitution of this country, and in its consequences for the interests of the species, of which modern times afford any record. .....He abolished a Slave Trade carried on in the streets of Liverpool and London....It cannot be doubted, that when those distinguished persons (who formed the Deputation of the African Institution) attended the remains of Granville Sharp to the grave, they mourned the extinction of the light which at first went before to guide them in their course, and had ever since been their faithful companion."—*Edinburgh Review.*

for the blessings which fell on it were breathed from lips that could not confer *celebrity;* from those of the poorest and humblest of society; from the houseless exile, from the captive, and from him who had none to help him—but *sacred*, in the records which are written in the bosoms of the good and wise, and which ANGELS KEEP and PERPETUATE!

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART VI.

LITERATURE AND WRITINGS.

CATALOGUE BY MR. SHARP OF THE BOOKS WRITTEN BY HIM, AND OF OTHER WORKS IMMEDIATELY RELATING TO THEM.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS, BY THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVIDS.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIES.

BRIEF REMARKS ON HIS MORAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS.

CONCLUSION.

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PART VI.

CHAP. I.

§§.—AN ACCOUNT OF BOOKS WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED BY G. SHARP,

AND ALSO OF SOME OTHER BOOKS THAT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN EITHER FOR OR AGAINST HIS PUBLICATIONS.

[The Books not written by Mr. Sharp are marked χ.]

[A few of Mr. Sharp's publications were noticed with a particular view in an early part of the Memoirs. The present catalogue and notes, from his own Manuscript, contain the whole of his writings, and an explanatory account of many of the most important.]

No. 1. ANSWER to the Rev. Dr. Kennicott's Charge of Corruptions in the Hebrew Texts of Ezra and Nehemiah*. (2d Edit. 1775.) 1765

No. 2. On Vocal Music. (2d Edition 1777.) 1767

* The proper title of this little book is, "Remarks on a printed Paper lately handed about, entituled, 'A Catalogue of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews who returned at first from the Captivity; together with the Names of the returning Families, and the Number of the Persons at that Time in each Family; disposed in such a Manner as to show most clearly the great Corruption of proper Names and Numbers in the present Text of the Old Testament.'" The Author of the Remarks was cautious not to oppose Dr. Kennicott any farther than his own printed Paper really required; and therefore the Remarks were not published in the ordinary way, but given gratis to those persons only who could produce a copy of the Doctor's own printed paper. The effect of this was agreeable to what is recommended in the last paragraph of the Remarks—viz. that the Doctor was obliged to give up his intentions of correcting the Hebrew text, and to abide by his first proposals, offered in 1760, of printing his new edition of the Hebrew Bible (not with a new text, but) from one of the best editions already published, having the various readings inserted at the bottom of every page.

No. 3. On the Pronunciation of the English Tongue, in French and English; and the same in English only . . . . . both in . . . 1767

No. 4. Remarks on several important Prophecies, in Answer to Dr. W——ms. In five Parts*. (2d Edition 1775.) 1768

No. 5. "A short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes:" (First printed at Philadelphia in 1762.) To which is added, an Account of the Endeavours of the Society for propagating the Gospel to instruct Negro Slaves in New York, with two Letters by Bishop Gibson on that Subject: to which is added, a Conclusion by the Editor (G. Sharp) 1768

No. 6. A Representation of the Injustice of tolerating Slavery 1769

Written during the action commenced against the Author by James Kerr, Esq. of Jamaica, for having liberated a Negro, Jonathan Strong. The action, after two years impending, was dismissed, with treble costs, in favour of the defendant; this work having been circulated in MS. during that time, in about twenty copies: after which it was printed.

Ditto, reprinted at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. A. Benezet . 1769

No. 7. Remarks concerning Encroachments on the River Thames, near Durham Yard 1771

No. 8. An Appendix to the Representation against Slavery 1772

No. 9. Remarks on the Opinions of the most celebrated Writers on Crown Law, respecting the due Distinctions between Manslaughter and Murder—viz. against Duelling. (2d Edit. 1790.) 1773

No. 10. A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature;—against the Attempts to tax America, and to make Laws for her against her Consent 1774

*** A reply to this work was promised by Dr. W——ms, every time he met G. S., for about two years; and at length G. S. received an anonymous book, being an attempt to set aside the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, (from whence the evidence was principally drawn which confuted the Doctor's former work). G. S. was too much engaged at that time to undertake an answer to this; but two very able replies very soon appeared—one by the Rev. Mr. Velthusen, of the Savoy Chapel, a very learned German Divine; and the second by the learned Dr. Caleb Fleming, who, though a Socinian, very ably and zealously defended the sacred text from this calumny, under the feigned name of Theophilus;—and neither of these gentlemen were at all aware of the original cause of this controversy. By the latter, some very strong proofs were given that the Magi did not come to Jerusalem to inquire for the Messiah, until the beginning of the second year after his birth, by which many difficulties are removed in comparing the accounts given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. And this explains the wicked motive of Herod for extending his murderous cruelty to all children under two years of age; for "he had privily called the wise men, and diligently inquired of them what time the star appeared." (Matt. ii. 7.) For otherwise his murders might have been limited to children under two months old, instead of two years.**

No. 11. A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature; containing a Defence both of America and Ireland, stating the Illegality of those declaratory Acts of Parliament called Poining's Acts (January) 1775

Ditto, printed in Ireland 1776

N.B. A few years afterwards the Irish Parliament repealed the obnoxious Acts. This change seems to have prompted the English Administration to procure the Union of the two kingdoms, which they rendered extremely dangerous, by permitting Irish Papists to vote for Representatives; for which trust they are utterly unqualified, because their principles and practices have ever been contrary to the two first foundations of English law.

No. 12. The Law of Retribution; or, a serious Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, founded on unquestionable Examples of God's temporal Vengeance against Tyrants, Slaveholders, and Oppressors 1776

No. 13. The just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God. To which is added, a Plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies 1776

No. 14. The Law of passive Obedience; or, Christian Submission to personal Injuries 1776

No. 15. The Law of Liberty 1776

No. 16. Addition to the Preface of the Sailor's Advocate. (A Work of General Oglethorpe.) 1777

No. 17. The Law of Nature and Principles of Action in Man. (2d Edition 1807, 3d Edition 1809.) 1777

No. 18. The Case of Saul; intended as an Appendix to the Law of Nature in Man, &c. 1777

No. 19. An Address to the People of England against the Suspension of Law, and also stating the Illegality of impressing Seamen . . 1778

No. 20. Doctrine of "Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi" explained, and its due Limitations. 1779

This was written in 1771, in defence of the Duke of Portland, with success.

No. 21. The Legal Means of Political Reformation. In seven Tracts. 1780

All these seven tracts were afterwards (in 1797) printed in one volume, with an Index to the whole; making the number of editions as follows:—

Tract No. 1. Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and good Government, &c. (Written March 1777: printed 1780.)	7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 2. Annual Parliaments the ancient and most salutary Right of the Commons of Great Britain. (Written in 1774: printed 1780.)	7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 3. A Defence of the ancient, legal, and constitutional Right of the People to elect Representatives for every Session of Parliament, not only "every Year once," but also "more often, if need be." (Dated 22d March 1780: printed 1780.) ...	7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 4. A Circular Letter to the several petitioning Counties and Towns, against a late Proposition for a triennial Election of Representatives, instead of the ancient Constitution of electing "every year once, and more often if need be." (April 1780.)	5 Editions: 6th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 5. Appendix to the legal Means of political Representation. (Dated March 1780.)	3 Editions: 4th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 6. The Claims of the People of England: being Remarks on a little Book published under that Title, which contained the principal Articles of the Act of Settlement; showing the dangerous Alterations that have since been made in that very important Act, and the necessity of restoring the original Principles of it. (Written March 1782.)	5 Editions: 6th jointly 1797.
Tract No. 7. An Appendix to the second Edition of Mr. Loft's Observations on a late Publication, entitled, "A Dialogue on the actual State of Parliaments," and on some other Tracts equally inimical to the Constitution of "Free Parliaments," being a farther Examination of Mr. Hatsel's Precedents of Proceedings. (Dated May 1783.)	1 Edition: 2d jointly 1797.

No. 22. Free Militia; consisting of seven distinct Tracts 1781

These tracts were published at different times, but printed altogether in one volume, with a complete Index to the whole, in 1782.

Tract No. 1. The ancient Common Law Right of associating with the Vicinage to maintain the Peace. (Written in 1780.)	Separately 1781: jointly 1782.
Tract No. 2. A General Militia, acting by Rotation, is the only safe Means of defending a free People. (Written in 1780.)	Separately 1781: jointly 1782.
Tract No. 3. Remarks concerning the Trained Bands of London. (Written in 1780.)	Separately 1781: jointly 1782.
Tract No. 4. Remarks on the Militia Laws for London. (Written in 1780.)	Separately 1781: jointly 1782.
Tract No. 5. Hints of some general Principles useful to Military Associations. (Written in 1780.)	Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 6. Remarks upon a Plan, proposed by a respectable Member of the Corporation of London, for rendering the Militia of London useful, &c. Written with a View to prevent the said Plan from introducing the Establishment of "a regular Military Corps" with constant daily Pay (i. e. a Standing Army), in the City (which afterwards unhappily took place.) (Written in 1781)..... } Separately 1782: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 7. Proposals and Remarks, &c., delivered to a respectable Magistrate of London, by G. Sharp, in 1781, to promote the training of the City Militia, that they might be truly and effectually Trained Bands, according to their usual Title ..... } Separately 1782: jointly 1782.

No. 23. A Tract on Congregational Courts and the ancient English Constitution of Frank-pledge, the Right of choosing Magistrates and Officers of the Militia. With an additional Tract on the Election of Bishops*, and others on forming New Settlements 1784

Ditto, second Edition, with a complete Index added † 1786

* This Tract was particularly useful in promoting Episcopacy in America. Even Dr. Franklin (bred a Dissenter) and Dr. Rush declared their approbation of it in letters to the Author: and the two first Bishops that were sent to England for consecration, declared that they should not have been sent, had not the Author's endeavours prompted the business.

† Memorandum.—Partly from the last-mentioned Tract on Frank-pledge (No. 23), and from the seven Tracts on a Free Militia (No. 22), a plan was drawn up by Dr. Lanthemas, M. D. at Paris, to establish the rights of the French people, and their national representation by annual elections, in a similar effectual mode of frank-pledge and free militia, without martial law. The whole system is most compendiously included in about twenty-three pages, octavo, though extracted from more than five hundred pages. It is entitled,

χ "Necessité et Moyens d'établir la Force publique sur la Rotation continuelle du Service militaire, et la Representation nationale sur la Proportion exacte du Nombre des Citoyens."—Printed at Paris, in 1792.

This little work was approved by Monsieur Rolland, who sent fifty copies of it as a present to G. S., under his official seal as Minister of the Interior. But that worthy and able Minister, and the other true friends to a limited and legal Government, were horribly persecuted, and either driven from their country or murdered by the Papistical Jacobins, who acted under a deceitful cloak of liberty and infidelity, that they might restore the baneful power of standing armies, and an uncontrolled despotism, without which the Papacy could not be restored again to its supreme establishment in France. But if this plan of frank-pledge and legal militia had been adopted a little sooner, so that the majority of the people might have had time to have felt and perceived their own ability and true interest in maintaining justice, law, and peace, among themselves, they might at this time have been a free people, instead of being rendered an enormous and most dangerous band of martial slaves, acting under the irresistible compulsion of a military despot, as a baneful scourge to all neighbouring nations.

No. 24. Is the before-mentioned French Publication, which, by being
χ formed from the several Tracts of G. S., ought of course to be placed in this Collection 1792

No. 25. An English Alphabet for the Use of Foreigners, wherein the Pronunciation of the Vowels is explained, in twelve short Rules, with their several Exceptions, as abridged (for the Instruction of Omai) from a former Work printed in 1767 (2d Edit. 1801.) Third Edition, with an Appendix, apologizing for the English Mode of pronouncing the Latin Tongue . . . 1786

No. 26. Regulations for a New Settlement at Sierra Leone. (2d Edition.) 1786
Ditto, with a Preface to Negroes and People of Colour, and other Additions. (3d Edition.) 1788

No. 27. Free English Territory in Africa; being a Description of the District lately purchased by Government for the New Settlement at Sierra Leone 1790

No. 28. A Description (from Captain Dampier) of the most useful Trees
χ and Fruits in the East Indies: (printed for the Use of the Settlement at Sierra Leone.) 1790

No. 29. A Tract on Duelling, with the Distinctions in Crown Law between Manslaughter and Murder. (First printed in 1773.) Second Edition, with Additions 1790

The doctrine of this tract was thoroughly adopted in the practice and judgments of the late Lord Kenyon, and has been approved also by Lord Ellenborough, the present Lord Chief Justice.

No. 30. Plan of a public Charity, with three Appendixes 1790

No. 31. Letter to a Committee of the Corporation of London appointed to inquire into the State of the London Workhouse. Printed by Order of the Common Council of London 1791

No. 32. Causes des Calamités publiques qui régnent à présent par-toute l'Etendue de l'Empire Romain 1792

This was a letter sent in MS. to a Foreign Nobleman, but afterwards printed, and many copies have been sent to France.

No. 33. A Collection of political Papers, with Remarks on the Accomplishment of Prophecies. (Reprinted 1797.) 1792

No. 34. Extract of a Letter from Dr. B. Rush, of Philadelphia, to G.
χ Sharp, respecting the Liberation of the Blacks in Pennsylvania,

and the Establishment of an African Church at Philadelphia. Printed by G. S. 1792

No. 35. Extract of a Letter from G. S. to a Gentleman in Maryland, respecting the extreme Wickedness of tolerating the Slave Trade, in order to favour the Illegalities of our Colonies, where the two first Foundations of English Law (the two Witnesses of God) may be said to lie dead, &c. First printed in America. (3d Edition 1797; 4th Edition 1806.) 1793

No. 36. A general Plan for laying out Towns and Townships in new-acquired Lands, to promote Cultivation, raise the Value of the adjoining Lands, and to promote the Peace and Security of the Inhabitants by the System of Frank-pledge. (2d Edition 1804.) 1794

No. 37. Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament. Written by G. Sharp in 1778, and published with a Preface by the Rev. Thomas Burgess (now Bishop of St. David's); with an Appendix, by the learned Editor, of (1st) a Table of Evidences of Christ's Divinity, by Dr. Whitby, and (2d) a plain Argument from the Gospel History for the Divinity of Christ. (2d Edit. 1802.) 1798

No. 38. The Child's First Book improved, with a Preface addressed to Mothers and Teachers. (2d Edition 1805.) 1801

No. 39. An Answer to an anonymous Letter (dated September 1777) on Predestination and Free-will, with a Postscript, on eternal Punishments 1801

No. 40. Extract of a Letter of G. Sharp's, on Land-Carriages, Roads, and profitable Labour of Oxen. Appended to "A Letter to Sir John Talbot Dillon, on the comparative Advantages of Oxen for Tillage in Competition with Horses, by Colonel William Tatham." (Dated 1794.) 1801

No. 41. Six Letters to Granville Sharp, to confirm his Remarks on the
χ Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth 1802

No. 42. Six more Letters to Granville Sharp, condemning his Remarks
χ on the Greek Article, by Gregory Blunt, Esq. 1802

No. 43. The Third Edition of the Tract on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, with an additional Preface and several Appendixes by the Author, and also Extracts from the British Critic, the Christian Observer, the Christian Guardian, and Orthodox Churchman, confirming the Principles of it 1803

No. 44. Three Tracts on the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue, with an Appendix, addressed to the Hebrew Nation 1804

The Grammatical Rules in these tracts have since been separated from the variety of other subjects which the Author had blended with them, by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Horsley, and translated into Latin, for the use of schools, with an additional Rule of his own.

No. 45. An Inquiry whether the Description of Babylon contained in the eighteenth Chapter of the Revelations agrees perfectly with Rome, as a City, &c.; with Prefaces, and an Appendix, addressed to the Roman Catholics 1805

No. 46. Copy of a Letter to a Clergyman in Ireland, respecting the proposed Catholic Emancipation 1805

No. 47. Serious Reflections on the Slave Trade and Slavery. Written in March 1797. Addressed to the Peers of Great Britain . . . 1805

No. 48. A Vindication of certain Passages in the common English Version of the New Testament: addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq., Author of the Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament. By the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A.M. 1805

No. 49. A Dissertation on the supreme Divine Dignity of the Messiah, in Answer to the above-mentioned Vindication 1806

No. 50. Remarks on the two last Petitions in the Lord's Prayer; with an Appendix extracted from the Rev. Dr. Lort's short Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, including all that he wrote on the two last Petitions of it 1806

No. 51. The System of Colonial Law compared with the eternal Laws of God, and with the indispensable Principles of the British Constitution 1807

No. 52. A Letter, in Answer to some of the leading Principles and Doc-

trines of the People called Quakers: originally addressed to Mr. Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia, in the Year 1784. Printed in the year 1807, with a Preface and Appendix, addressed to the People called Quakers, not as a publication, but only for private communication among themselves 1807

No. 53. The Case of Saul. (2d Edition, with Additions). To which is also annexed, "Remarks on 1 Tim. iv. 1—3." 1807

No. 54. A Letter to Granville Sharp, Esq., respecting his Remarks on
χ the two last Petitions of the Lord's Prayer, from a Country Clergyman (Rev. Mr. Dunster, of Petworth, Sussex). Being a general Confirmation of G. Sharp's Tract on that Subject 1807

No. 55. A Letter to Granville Sharp, in MS., by Dr. Middleton of
χ Norwich; sent with a copy of the Doctor's learned work, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament" . . . . . .

No. 56. Jerusalem: in Answer to Inquiries respecting the Etymology of that Word 1808

No. 57. Melchisedec; or, an Answer to a Question respecting the Reality of Melchisedec's Existence, as King of Salem and Priest of the Most High God 1810

No. 58. Remarks on the Most Rev. Dr. ———'s Catechism: revised, enlarged, approved, and recommended by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a general Catechism for the Kingdom 1810

No. 59. Modus Decimandi. (Half sheet 4to.) 1811

No. 60. Remarks on an important Passage, Matt. xxi. 18, which has long been perverted by the Church of Rome in Support of her vain Pretensions to supreme Dominion over all other Episcopal Churches 1812

No. 61. Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Peculiar of the Deanery
χ of Hereford, July 30, 1812, by G. Gretton, D. D. Dean of Hereford, wherein the Pretensions of the Popes of Rome to

Supremacy in the Catholic Church are shown to have no Foundation in Scripture nor in the Constitution of the primitive Christian Churches 1812

In p. 11 the learned Dean refers to the text which is the subject of the preceding Remarks, No. 60, and particularly recommends the criticism on that passage by G. S.

CHAP. II.

THE history of Mr. Sharp's literature is little less extraordinary than that of his life and actions. It will be found that the singular humility of the Author had not only forborn to admit even the justest tribute of contemporary praise, but had tended, as far as its operation could reach, to suppress any public acknowledgment of the obligations which he had conferred on learning. Under the influence of this principle, he seems almost to have trespassed on veracity. But in a mind sincerely humble the brightness of intellect serves only to increase the sense of human insignificance. This feeling was so habitual in him, that when he was requested to look over a *biographical sketch*, which had been printed in a periodical work, on finding a statement of his learning expressed in very high terms, he wrote the following comment in the margin:—

"G. S. is by no means entitled to the character of '*a good scholar, well read, &c.,*' for he never read or studied more than what was unavoidably necessary on those few subjects which from time to time seemed to demand his unexperienced endeavours, on each particular occasion which excited his attention."

On another passage, which speaks also highly of his *musical learning*, he remarks, in the same manner,—

"G. S. is indeed *an admirer of music*, but by no means a '*great proficient.*' His pretensions are only to choruses, and such other full pieces of music as are sufficiently plain and easy to be performed by any ordinary performer*."

* In the same unpretending manner he speaks of his valuable collection of Bibles in all the various languages of Christian learning. After adverting to the compliment paid to his library, on account of *its extensiveness* (a term, he says, which can no otherwise be applicable than from his books being *separated in several different places*), he adds, "This collection of Bibles

He has left on record, in other parts of his notes, his own testimony of his uninformed state, when he first became the Advocate for the oppressed Africans, with "so little pretension to any knowledge of law, that he had never once opened any law-book, to consult it, till compelled on that occasion;" and of his "natural slowness, or *snail-like tardiness*, in the prosecution of his study."

All these testimonies, though they do not bear on the *degree* of his learning, point strongly to a part of his character before noticed. But the modesty with which he describes his various attainments is in nothing more remarkable than in his reply to the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, who had thought it right to avow, in his public lectures, the assistance which he had received from his remarks on some passages of Holy Writ*.—"It is necessary," he says,

"(as well for your own sake, as for the dignity of the important office you hold in the University), that I should give you due previous caution that I am not *a regular scholar*, and that the little knowledge I have acquired has been taken up entirely without the instruction of any master; so that my name must not even be mentioned, as having the least degree of authority, to influence either the opinions or practice of any regular scholar."

In another letter, also, to the Bishop of St. David's, who proposed to bind one of his tracts "On the Messiah" with a religious work of a similar size written by the Bishop of London, he suggests his "doubts how far that learned Prelate may approve of such a connection with a layman, and *no scholar*."

Our respect is involuntarily heightened by perceiving that such acknowledged powers of research were not excited by any thirst of fame.

His disposition to reading, and his delight in books, were evinced at a very early period of his life; for he used to relate of himself, that he "read all the plays of Shakspeare in an apple-tree in his father's

is so far from being the best in the kingdom, that it is not worthy of the least comparison with many other well-known collections."—Of the justice of such an assertion, the persons into whose hands the collection has fallen, are the best judges.

* See p. 511.

orchard at Rothbury;" and he remembered the greater part of them accurately. He had read Hudibras, and Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd," at the same time, and always delighted in them.

Although he was master of the various languages mentioned in Mr. Owen's letter, and read also Italian and Spanish, he spoke none but his native language, or only French imperfectly.

With regard to the style of his writings in general, although his plain and strong sense was as clearly as powerfully expressed in most of them, his want of early classical instruction prevented his compositions from being either methodical or graceful. They were, on the contrary, too frequently diffuse and embarrassed*. It is true, he *sought* no grace in writing; no praise; no result, but the great purposes to which (as his friend has observed) his life was devoted—the diffusion of truth, and the promoting of "glory to God, and peace and good will among men." He had also the judgment to discern that the *best* style which could be adopted by one not early inured to literary arrangement, was the *simplest;* that, wanting the collision of youthful practice, it was a fruitless waste of time to seek the *elegancies* of writing; and that attempts at *style* by men in his predicament, seldom effected more than a display of some favourite modes of expression, which are apt to wear, in the eyes of others, an appearance of affectation.

A just estimate of Mr. Sharp's learning, and in particular his religious learning, could only have been formed by persons who were intimately conversant with the subjects to which he had devoted his attention. Those persons were few; but from them we shall receive the most unequivocal testimonies of the nature and value of his studies.

*** On this defect he received the friendly animadversions of his brother, Dr. John Sharp; and one of his letters contains his own apology, in reply.**

CHAP. III.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

MR. GRANVILLE SHARP was learned in languages from principle, not from curiosity, or the mere pleasure of literary research. His objects in the study of Hebrew and Greek were, exclusively, the love of truth, the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. No man's mind was ever less actuated by vanity and ambition. He was singularly fortunate in the application of his learning to the illustration of the original languages of Scripture. His doctrines of the Greek Article, and of the Hebrew Conversive *Vau*, and of other particularities of the Hebrew language, though not unknown to scholars before his time, had all the merit of discovery, and more than that merit in the valuable use which he made of them. His most decided belief of the supreme Divinity of Christ, and his ardent zeal to maintain the doctrine against Jewish and Socinian objections, made him a critic and philologer, and led him to those grammatical principles and analogies so decisive in their result that Jews and Socinians cannot misconstrue or dispute them, without denying the most direct and acknowledged usages of grammar.

His doctrine of the Greek Article was violently opposed by Socinian writers, but without the least injury to its principle, and with a strong presumption in its favour; for such a violence of opposition would never have been excited by any publication which had not struck at the vitals of Socinian unbelief. The ample confirmation which it has received from the concurrent interpretation of all the ancient Greek Fathers of the Church, in Dr. Wordsworth's elaborate and candid

work, has given it a stability which may bid defiance to all the sophistry employed against it.

It is no longer a question, whether the Rule proposed is capable of the application which has been given it, or whether the chief passages, to which it has been applied by Mr. Sharp (Eph. v. 5; Tit. ii. 13; 2 Pet. i. 1), will admit the sense which the Rule requires; for the only sense in which the Greek Fathers understand that important passage, for instance, Tit. ii. 13, is that which is ascribed to it by Mr. Sharp. It appears, also, from Dr. Wordsworth's investigation of the subject, that the various forms of expression contained in the passages relative to the Divinity of Christ, which are the subject of the Rule, were constantly used by Greek writers, from the first century to the latest period of the Greek language, in the sense required by the Rule; and that *that* was the uniform doctrine of all the ancient Churches.

The Rule was more temperately opposed by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, in his "Vindication of the commonly received Version *;" to which tract the Bishop of St. David's replied at large, in his "Evidence of the Divinity of Christ from the literal Interpretation of Scripture†."

The learned Rector of Killesandra, in two valuable works (his "Analysis of Ancient Chronology," and his "Faith in the Holy Trinity"), has some remarks on Mr. Sharp's examples, which, as they tend, in some measure, to impeach the credit of the Rule, must not pass unnoticed. Dr. Hales, who has most learnedly and ably maintained the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of Christ, admits the validity of the general Rule, but objects to the example of Jude, ver. 4. "The accuracy of the general Rule, as it respects "both *diversity* and *identity*, is fully established by MIDDLETON" [now Bishop of Calcutta], "pp. 79 and 571, from the usage of

* "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq."

† Reprinted in a volume of Tracts, entitled, "Tracts on the Divinity of Christ, and on the Repeal of the Statute against Blasphemy."

"sacred and profane Classics. But SHARP himself allows that the "Rule may sometimes prove rather *too much*; and in this instance "especially (Jude ver. 4) may be liable to favour the Sabellian "heresy, followed by the Swedenborgians, that Christ is the only "God (p. 51); and MIDDLETON has proved that the Rule requires "limitations, especially in the case of proper names, which often form "exceptions to it*."

Mr. Sharp has so carefully guarded the Rule by limitations, especially in the case of proper names, one of its exceptions, that I do not perceive in what respect the Rule can ever "prove too much." The Rule may be misapplied to incongruous examples, but that is not the fault of the Rule, but of him who applies it.

In the present instance, Dr. Hales is mistaken in supposing that Mr. Sharp "allows that his Rule may sometimes prove rather too "much, and that it may be liable to favour Sabellianism." His words are—(p. 58, 3d edit.)—"But the applying to Christ the *supreme* "title,—'*the only Potentate, God;*' and also, in the former text, the "*supreme* title of '*the great God,*'—may, perhaps, induce *some persons* "to conceive that this grammatical system of construction, if admitted "as a rule for all texts in which the same mode of expression renders "it applicable, will sometimes prove rather too much, and may be "liable to favour a modern sect of *Unitarians*, who have adopted the "Sabellian notions of the late Baron Swedenborg, and who assert "that '*Jesus Christ is the only God.*'"

But Mr. Sharp is far from "allowing that the Rule may sometimes "prove rather too much." He says that "*some persons*" may be induced to think so; but he concludes, from his review of the passage, that the effect of his grammatical Rule *will not* (in the opinion of those who rightly consider the supreme attributes of each Person of the Godhead) appear to exceed the truth. He says (p. 65), "The *true* "*Unitarian* Christian, who acknowledges but *one God, one Jehovah, one*

* "Analysis of Ancient Chronology," vol. ii. p. 856; "Faith in the Holy Trinity," vol. ii. p. 299.

" *Divine Nature* (Θεοτης) or *Godhead;* and at the same time, nevertheless,
" is convinced that *three Divine Persons* are really revealed to us under
" the title of *Jehovah* in the Old Testament, and under the title of
" Θεος, or God, in the New Testament; and that the *supreme attributes*
" of the DIVINE NATURE are applied to each, in both Testaments;
" will, of course, be aware also that each of these Divine Persons
" must necessarily be '*the great God*' and '*the only Potentate,*' as
" there is but '*one God,*' *one only supreme Power or Godhead.* So that
" the effect of my grammatical Rule, when applied to the two par-
" ticular texts before mentioned (viz. Tit. ii. 13, and Jude 4), will
" not (in the opinion of such true Christians) seem to exceed the
" truth."

Dr. Hales quotes from Æschines τον Αλεξανδρον και Φιλιππον, as a case precisely in point to the passage in St. Jude, and as a proof that Κυριον may be there used without the article, as a distinct person from Δεσποτην and Θεον. But as Αλεξανδρον is strictly a proper name, and never used otherwise, and Κυριος is not strictly a proper name, and is generally used otherwise, it can hardly be said to be precisely in point.

Be that, however, as it may, the common version of Jude ver. 4, "our only *Lord God,*" cannot be right, for another reason distinct from Mr. Sharp's Rule. The term *Lord,* in the expression *Lord God,* is never expressed by Δεσποτης, either in the Greek version of the Old Testament, or in the Greek text of the New Testament, our only proper authorities, but always by Κυριος, with ὁ Θεος. See 1 Pet. iii. 15; Rev. iv. 8, xv. 3, xviii. 8, xx. 6, xxi. 2, xxii. 5. See also Gen. ii. 4, 15, 16, 18; iii. 8, 13, 14, 21; iv. 6, 9, 15, &c. If, therefore, the words of St. Jude had been meant of the Father, they would have been Κυριος ὁ Θεος, not Δεσποτης Θεος. Dr. Hales's translation, "the only *sovereign God,*" is liable to the same objection as the common version, in connecting Δεσποτης with Θεος.

The passage should be pointed so as to detach Θεον from Δεσποτην, and connect it with its appropriate term Κυριον, thus: Τον μονυν Δεσποτην, Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων, Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. In this construction

of the passage, Θεον και Κυριον ήμων (with which τον μονον Δεσποτην is in apposition), can belong only to Ιεσουν Χριστον. Thus St. Peter applies the term Δεσποτης to Christ, in a similar expression: Και τον αγορασαντα αυτους Δεσποτην αρνουμενοι. 2 Pet. ii. 1. And, synonimously with ΜΟΝΟΣ Δεσποτης, Christ is called by St. Paul ΕΙΣ Κυριος, "ONE Lord;" and by St. Matthew, ΕΙΣ καθηγητης, ὁ Χριστος, "ONE Master, even Christ." The words of St. Jude, therefore, Θεον και Κυριον ήμων, should be translated, "OUR GOD AND LORD."

The passages quoted by Wetstein and Dr. Hales from Josephus and Justin Martyr, are by no means in point; because in those examples Δεσποτης is not in construction with Θεος, as in the common version of St. Jude, "the only Lord God," and Dr. Hales's "sovereign God;" but with ὁλων and παντων, *the Lord of all;* and is the predicate of Θεος. It is the construction of Θεος with Δεσποτης in the common version, as well as in Dr. Hales's, that renders their translations contrary to the usage of Scripture, in which "the Lord God" (Jehovah Elohim) is always expressed by Κυριος ὁ Θεος. The unscriptural appearance of Δεσποτης Θεος was probably the cause of the omission of Θεος in some Manuscripts.

The construction and punctuation here proposed for the words Θεον και Κυριον ήμων, Ιησεν Χριστον, "*our only Master, God and Lord*, Jesus Christ," give no countenance to the Sabellian heresy, and at the same time afford a clear and strong testimony to the Divinity of Christ. Hammond translates the passage thus: "*Our only Master, God, and Lord, Jesus Christ.*"

I cannot close this subject better than with the substance of Mr. Sharp's First Rule, and with the principal examples to it.—

"When two personal nouns of the same case are connected "by the copulate και, if the former has the definitive article, "and the latter has not, they both belong to the same person."

"2 Pet. i. 11.—Του κυριου ήμων και σωτηρος, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

"2 Thess. i. 12.—Του Θεου ήμων και κυριου, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our God and Lord, Jesus Christ.*

" 2 Pet. i. 1.—Του Θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

" Tit. ii. 13.—Του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

" Jude 4.—Τον μονον δεσποτην, Θεον και κυριον ἡμων, Ιησουν Χριστον. *Our only Master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ.*"

Mr. Sharp's *Hebrew Rules*, though not of so marked importance, as to doctrine, as those of the Greek Article, are of great utility in clearing the difficulties of Hebrew construction. Bishop Horsley was so much pleased with the Rules relating to the Hebrew Conversive *Vau*, that he was desirous of giving them a more permanent form than their English dress, by translating them into Latin. But he died before he had put Mr. Sharp in possession of this proof of his learning and friendship. Mr. Sharp made some inquiries after this paper, but without success.

To the usefulness of these Rules the learned Prelate contributed what was of more value than a Latin translation. In his correspondence with Mr. Sharp he suggested a Rule, which, with some variation, Mr. Sharp adopted, and considered of so much value, as a means of resolving the difficulties of many passages of the Hebrew Scripture, that he has left in writing a memorandum, directing it to be inserted in a future edition of the Hebrew tracts, as a *fifth* Rule, instead of that adopted from Rabbi Elias.

The Rule suggested by the Bishop of St. Asaph was, that " *perfect tenses with the prefixed Vau are always converted to future tenses*, except *at the beginning of a sentence.*"

From this exception Mr. S. has extracted that Rule which he calls the Bishop's, " with some small variation in the form." With this variation Mr. Sharp's Rule stands thus—viz. *that* " *perfect tenses with the prefixed Vau are not converted in the beginning of a sentence.*"

In order that the Reader may possess all the necessary information respecting this important Rule, we think it right to lay before him Mr. Sharp's own observations, expressed in a manuscript memorandum which he has left behind him.

NS.—" *Memorandum concerning any future Edition that may be made of G. Sharp's three Tracts on the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue.*

" N.B. In any future edition of this work, it will be necessary to add a rule of syntax proposed to G. S. by the learned Dr. Horsley, late Bishop of St. Asaph, which (with some small variation in the form from that proposed by the Bishop to G. S.) will supersede the necessity of retaining the fifth Rule, adopted by G. S. from Rabbi Elias, and will afford an easy explanation to many very difficult texts.

" The Rule proposed by Bishop Horsley was as follows: 'That perfect tenses with prefixed ו are always converted to future tenses, except at the beginning of a sentence.'

" On this Rule the following remark by G. S. was submitted to his Lordship's consideration, together with a very large collection of examples, which, after his Lordship's death, were returned to G. S. by his executors.

" The remark by G. S. submitted to the Bishop was as follows.—

" The truth of the latter part of the Rule—viz. the exception—is sufficiently proved, I believe, by the great number of examples sent herewith; and therefore it should be an established rule, that 'perfect tenses with prefixed Vaus are not converted at the beginning of a sentence.'

" Several examples (for the explanation of which G. S. was obliged, before he received this Rule, to have recourse to the Rule of Rabbi Elias) are much more easily explained by this Rule of the Bishop of St. Asaph. For instance: the first verb, וְהָלַךְ, in 1 Sam. vii. 16, will afford a remarkable example of the Rule, if this verse may be allowed to be the beginning of a sentence, to which it seems entitled by an obvious reason,—that it describes several circumstances of Samuel's transactions sufficiently distinct from that general one mentioned in the preceding verse, to justify the opinion that it ought to be deemed a new sentence, though included in the same narrative. The verb וְהָלַךְ being at the beginning of this verse, is most naturally

construed in the perfect tense, according to the sense of the context, as well as according to the Rule. But the next verb, in the middle of the verse, וסבב, seems to forbid the Bishop's supposition, as first proposed, that 'perfect tenses with prefixed Vaus are always converted, except at the beginning of a sentence;' because this second verb is an example to the contrary, as also the next following verb (the third) וישפט. And therefore it is much more easy and obvious to refer to the second Rule in this work, as the reason why the two last-mentioned preter tenses are not converted, than to be obliged to suppose that this single verse should be divided into three sentences: for that necessity would render the Rule not only less obvious in general, but also much more difficult, and consequently less valuable.

"The corrected statement of Bishop Horsley's Rule ought therefore to be inserted in all future editions of this work, as the Fifth Rule of Hebrew Syntax, instead of that adopted from Rabbi Elias; as it is much more easy and intelligible, and will render the system of Hebrew syntax perfectly complete, so as to enfranchise the students of Hebrew in future from the arbitrary shackles of that most perplexing and unreasonable system of vowel points, by which our Hebrew Bibles are most shamefully dotted, and disfigured as if they were blurred and defiled by flies!—See Tract I. pp. 63, 64; and Tract III. pp. 28—30.

"Much important and unquestionable evidence against the pretended antiquity of punctuation may be added from Calmet's 'Dictionnaire Historique, &c., de la Bible,' printed at Paris in 1722, under the word מסר, 'Tradidit.'"

CHAP. IV.

ALTHOUGH no greater evidence can be given of the esteem in which Mr. Sharp's Scriptural researches were held by the learned writer of the preceding pages; yet some additional testimonies from the same source (found among Mr. Sharp's papers), may with propriety be added in confirmation of it.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.—[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Durham, December 15, 1792.

" I have had both pleasure and instruction in the perusal of the several learned and interesting papers which you most obligingly sent me. There are two which *I have selected for transcription*,—' A Letter concerning the Use of the Greek Article,' and ' The Grammatical Rules of Construction for the Greek Tongue, applied to the several Texts of the New Testament,' &c.

" With great respect, dear Sir," &c. &c.

" T. BURGESS."

From the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of St. David's, to the Right Hon. Henry Addington (Lord Sidmouth.)

[With Mr. Granville Sharp's Tract on the Greek Article.]

" Dear Sir,

" I beg you to accept a copy of a new edition of a book, which was first *published* by me, but which the Author has much improved, and *republished*. I am persuaded that I cannot make you a more valuable present than a book which *contains, in a small compass, the most solid evidence of the Divinity of Christ*.

" Your ever obliged and grateful Servant," &c. &c.

" T. ST. DAVID'S."

To these testimonies the Bishop thought fit to add a public declaration of his approval of the same Tract, in his Diocesan Charge to his Clergy in the year 1804. A vindication of Mr. Sharp's construction of the several texts alluded to forms also a part of a work now preparing by him for the press.

The following extracts, from letters of another learned Prelate, also relate to some points mentioned in the "Observations."

From Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Mr. G. Sharp.

"Dear Sir, "5th July, 1804.

"I return you many thanks for your very valuable work upon the Hebrew syntax. ..... You have cleared up the mysteries of the *Conversive Vau*, which never had been treated with any degree of accuracy by any grammarian before you. Your Rule about *Binoni* seems to me no less valuable. I think, if the grammatical Rules, with select examples of each, were published in a small tract by themselves, it might be introduced with great advantage in such of the public schools in which the rudiments of the Hebrew language are taught in the upper forms."

From the Same to the Same.

"Dear Sir, "20th July, 1804.

..... "The grammars taught in our public schools are always in Latin; and for that reason I wished very much that your Rules should be turned into Latin, and make an Appendix to be added to the Westminster Grammar: or, if not added to it, if it were published by itself by the Westminster Printer, it would make its way among school books; and in Latin it might find its way into the Continent. In this I am so much in earnest, that I have myself almost finished a Latin translation of your Rules," &c.

"You have laid the foundation of a more perfect theory of the *Conversive Vau*, and other parts of the Hebrew syntax, than we have ever yet possessed: and I much wish your Rules should become generally known, and make a part of our Hebrew Grammar." &c. &c.

Other acknowledgments of Mr. Sharp's Scriptural learning appear in several letters from various persons.

From the Rev. Henry Lloyd, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" Sir, " Cambridge, 15th January, 1798.

" I am quite at a loss for words to express the satisfaction with which I have perused your letter, or the sense of gratitude occasioned by the communications it contains. As I consider myself countenanced by Dr. Blayney and yourself with respect to the *Masoretic* Points, I shall enter upon my course of public instruction with comfort.

" Your extraordinary kindness encourages me to hope that I shall soon experience new marks of it, provided you have leisure.

" I confined my late application to the subject of Masoretic points and pronunciation, because I was taking an almost unwarrantable liberty, in consideration of a slight acquaintance. Now that I find you so ready to oblige, my desire of whatever critical or other information you may have time and goodness to impart can no longer be suppressed.

" Your obliged humble servant," &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

" Sir,

" With no less reluctance than gratitude, I return your letters, in hopes of your only wishing to consult them previously to an account of your sentiments with respect to consonants.

" Before our correspondence commenced, I had fixed on the mode of pronunciation set forth in the enclosed, as matter of expediency, but have recommended and privately taught the use of Masoretic Points, as necessary for understanding a valuable Jewish comment on the SS.

" Considering how long Hebrew literature has been neglected here, my lectures have been well attended; and I have, on occasion, avowedly availed myself of the contents of your letters.

" Should your zeal for the propagation of scriptural knowledge incline you to assist my imperfect endeavours, by transmitting any dissertations, I shall be happy in making the same use of them, and with the same candour.

" With a deep sense of gratitude for your communications, I remain,

" Your much obliged," &c. &c.

From the Rev. Mr. Ettrick to Mr. G. Sharp.*

" Rev.† Sir,

" I have been much obliged and gratified by the present of your Remarks upon the Roman Catholic Catechism, not only because it was accompanied with an approbation of the principles of my Reflections on the expected Exodus of the Jews, but far more so on account of the pleasure I received in reading that valuable tract, which stamps a character of authority on most of the positions advanced by me, and establishes on undeniable grounds a very important fact. . . . . .

" The learning, and great knowledge of books, by which you have settled these points beyond controversy, are not easily accessible to many of us minor writers: and we are therefore the more sensible of the obligation due to you, for the better exertion of more competent abilities in the cause of injured truth.

" I was favoured by Dr. Gray with a sight of your former learned publication on the 'Inquiry,' &c., and have only to regret that I did not meet with it before my book was too far advanced to allow me to profit by it as I might have done.

" I remain, Rev. Sir, your obliged," &c. &c.

From Dr. Gray, Rector of Weremouth and Prebendary of Durham, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Bishop Weremouth, November 24, 1806.

" I have only waited for your address, which I received yesterday, to express my very sincere acknowledgments to you for the very important observations which you have been kind enough to send me upon 'The Key to the Old Testament,' all of which are highly deserving of the greatest attention; and, should I have occasion to publish another edition, I shall thankfully avail myself of them. Your very accurate and critical knowledge in Hebrew, I knew, particularly qualified you for the task which you have taken the trouble to perform, and made me anxious to obtain your remarks.

" We have, I believe, now, all your printed works in our library, and they form a very interesting collection, remarkable for the variety and correctness of the discussions which they contain. I regret that the memorandum which you sent was not accompanied with another manuscript, which you have written, if

* Author of " The Second Exodus, or Reflections on the Prophecies of the last Times," &c.

† The epithet here used by Mr. Ettrick was very frequently applied to Mr. Sharp's name, by those who were unacquainted with his real situation.

I mistake not, on the circumstances of the present times, which seem to exhibit a development of prophecy." &c. &c.

From the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" My dear Sir,

" Accept my best thanks for the pamphlets. Your important remarks on Matt. xvi. 18, I have taken the liberty to insert in my notes on Luke ix., at the end. Had I seen them before I printed Matthew, I could have made my note there more accurate. I believe your notion of the passage to be strictly correct, and the best yet published. It was highly necessary *at these times;* and, to give it the widest circulation in my power, I have printed almost the whole of it in the place above referred to.

" Yours very respectfully," &c.

The remarks just mentioned (by Dr. A. Clarke) were also so highly approved by Dr. Gretton, the learned Dean of Hereford, that he expressed his approbation of Mr. Sharp's explanation of the text, in a printed Charge addressed to the Clergy of his Deanery.

One other eulogium is of too great importance to be omitted.

From Dr. Magee's " Discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice."—

..... " This position is substantiated by a wide range of examples in the Letter on certain Particularities of the Hebrew Syntax, written by Mr. Granville Sharp, whose acute and valuable philological inquiries, as well in that and his other letters on the same subject, as in his investigations of the Greek text, cannot be too highly commended. The labours of this learned layman reflect honour upon himself, and, what he appears to have much more at heart, light and intelligence upon the Sacred Text."

The following letter should have been added to the account of the Society for Conversion of the Jews.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

" Rev. Sir, " Jews' Chapel, Spitalfields, January 29, 1812.

" Since the first instant, we have been in expectation of receiving your criticisms upon the first half-sheet of the Version of the New Testament into

the Hebrew language; and as we have placed much reliance upon the benefit of your attainments in that tongue, we hope that you will not disappoint us.

" We remain, &c. " T. FRY,
JOSEPH FOX,
" *Secretaries to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.*"

Some other testimonies of a complimentary kind show a still more general opinion of Mr. Sharp's learning and piety.

From William Whitwell, Esq., to Mr. G. Sharp.

" Dear Sir,

" Mr. Mousley, the author of a memoir recommendatory of a translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language, is very desirous of an interview with you. I have a second edition of the memoir, with additions, to put into your hands, at his request. Will it be agreeable for you to say by the bearer whether Mr. Mousley can see you, either at Garden Court, or in the City?

" Respectfully yours," &c. &c.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Upper Mary-le-bone Street, May 20, 1790.

" A very eminent and learned man, the Professor Zimmerman, from Brunswick, so famous for his geographical knowledge, and particularly in what regards Africa, has desired very much to have the honour of being introduced to you. As his time of staying here is very short, I take the liberty of sending to know what morning it would suit you to see him at your house.

" With great respect and sincerity," &c. &c.

" C. S. WADSTROM."

CHAP. V.

MR. SHARP's moral writings exhibit so intimate an union of moral and religious doctrine, that it is difficult in general to draw a line of distinction between these, and such as more expressly treat of religious topics. They are equally friendly to the happiness of man, and directed with equal steadiness in search of the sacred light of truth. One great governing sentiment directed the performance of them; and to the reader of his life, the nature of that sentiment needs not now to be described. Indeed, if the whole of his life and writings could be fully set forth to view in each particular, such was the consistency of his opinions and actions, that the reader of the one might almost be said to have read the other likewise.

In his "Law of Nature" and "Law of Liberty," his principle of moral action is wholly grounded on his faith in the holy Scriptures. He contends against the doctrine of *self-love* being the sole ruling principle in the human mind; asserting that the knowledge of good and evil, derived from our first parents, is a principle *at least equally* universal; and that the precept of *reciprocal consideration*, or of doing to others as we would that others should do to us, "whether it is inculcated by Divine Revelation, or merely by the natural instinct in man, of knowing good and evil, may justly be esteemed a fundamental axiom of the law of nature."

The clear discrimination with which he considers this precept, as a rule of action, is fairly opposed to the objections raised against it, by feeble or faithless theorists, in his "Law of Passive Obedience." "The same benevolent principles," he there writes—"viz. *universal love and charity*—founded on the great commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which obliges the true Christian most disinterestedly to forgive all personal injuries, and pass over every affront

offered to his own person, will necessarily engage him, on the other hand, as disinterestedly to oppose every degree of oppression and injustice which affects his brethren and neighbours, when he has a fair opportunity of assisting them. From hence arises the zeal of good men for just and equitable laws, as being the most effectual means of preserving the peace and happiness of the community, by curbing the insolence and violence of wicked men."

The command, therefore, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," he calls the *golden rule*,—"the *paternal precept*, to which the Creator has graciously reduced the rule of our obedience."

His opinions concerning spiritual agencies are fully developed in the first of these tracts: "Such," he says, "is the compound nature of man, that inquiries concerning human nature, and the principles of human actions, cannot be fairly and usefully defined, without a careful examination of the human claim to Divine inspiration; nor, indeed, without a careful warning also against that very opposite spiritual influence, which is equally liable to alter human nature, and become the principle of action." (p. 98.)

The devotion of his mind to *good* is every where apparent: "Honesty, indeed, is the best policy even for a selfish man to pursue; and it is certain that the solid attainments of virtue and justice afford a real and substantial satisfaction, which in the end most amply fulfils the purposes of self-love." (p. 7.)

His moral tenets are, again, further connected with his political ones: "That which some men call natural liberty, is the most unnatural tyranny; for when the immutable necessity of reciprocal consideration is forgot, or set aside, there can be no safety among men, and, consequently, no natural liberty. We must therefore submit ourselves to be the servants of law, in order to be truly free; according to the excellent observation of Cicero: 'Legum denique idcirco omnes *servi* sumus, ut *liberi* esse possimus.'" (p. 6.)

Such is the nature of his reasonings throughout these and other works. One mind, one intention, is visible in the treatment of every subject which he sets before him; and he branches out occasionally

on all the different parts which combine to fill the character of the religious thinker and moral agent in the various duties of life*. No safer or more friendly guide can be found for those who seek for peace of mind in the result of their actions.

His "Law of Liberty, or Royal Law," relates more particularly to that freedom of choice, and offer of Divine assistance, which is tendered to us by the Gospel, for the just regulation of our conduct towards mankind.

In whatever concerns human conduct, his "*splendid sin*" of an unyielding adherence to perfect principles, has been described by Mr. Owen†. It pervades all his writings, as it pervaded his life and conversation.

His political writings all assert the social liberty of man. They claim for him the highest privileges of his individual and social condition under a well-ordered government. Liberty is his darling object. His very figures of writing are frequently drawn from that source. The reader will recollect, that in the posthumous memorandum on a Hebrew Rule, inserted in the preceding chapter, he speaks of *enfranchising* the student from the *shackles* of the Masoretic Points‡. But the liberty which he extolled, and claimed for all, was regulated by the view of his religious and social obligations. It was at all times tempered by a strict loyalty to the Throne (the interests of which he considered as inseparably united with those of the People), and no less subjected at all times to the precepts of the Christian faith. In this respect, he held that there was one law for individuals and nations: it was, in fact, the liberty of mutual beneficence.

The extirpation of slavery forms the principal aim of many of his writings. The "Law of Retribution" is a powerful appeal, founded on events of the Jewish history, to all conditions of men, for that end,

* A too great diffuseness in this respect must be regretted as a fault in his MODE of composition, but it may be considered as fully overbalanced, on examination, by the value of the *matter*.

† Page 472.

‡ He uses the same expression in a note sent with some books to the Bible Society at Calcutta, p. 434.

but principally designed to expose the criminality and danger of those who hold their wretched African captives in servitude*.

The concluding pages of this tract contain a peroration so energetically prompted by *nature* (for his compositions give little indication of *art*), and uttered with such prophetic dignity, that it cannot fail to strike all readers. After stating the example of the four "chiefs of the children of Ephraim," who preserved the captives of Judah from the slavery to which they were destined by Pekah, the King of Israel†, he proceeds thus :—

"But *Great Britain*, though staggering under a much heavier load [than Israel] of the same kind of guilt, has not produced, out of her numerous Peerage, *one single chief* to stand up 'for the land,' and remove her burthen! Mark this, ye Right Reverend Fathers of our Church, who sit with the Princes of the realm to consult the welfare of the state! Think not that I am inclined, through any misguided prejudice, to charge *your Order*, in particular, with the omission: the *crying sin* has hitherto been far distant from your *sight*, and perhaps was never fully represented to you, or, like '*faithful watchmen of Israel*,' you would long ago have warned our nation of the danger. But I now call upon you, IN THE NAME OF GOD, for assistance! *Ye know the Scriptures*, and therefore to you, my Lords, in particular, I

* There is a singular passage in this work, which indicates a species of *hereditary* interest, on Mr. Sharp's part, in the sufferings of Africans.—

"The lamentable fall of Africa was the very example by which my own Grandfather, nearly a century ago, warned the House of Commons concerning our national danger.

"'That Africa,' said he, 'which is not now more fruitful of monsters than it was once of excellently wise and learned men,—that Africa, which formerly afforded us our Clemens, our Origen, our Tertullian, our Cyprian, our Augustine, and many other extraordinary lights in the church of God,—that famous Africa, in whose soil Christianity did thrive so prodigiously, and could boast of so many flourishing churches,—alas! is now a wilderness. "The wild boars have broken into the vineyard, and eaten it up, and it brings forth nothing but briars and thorns," to use the words of the Prophet. And who knows but God may suddenly make this church and nation, this our England, which, Jeshurun-like, is waxed fat and grown proud, and has kicked against God, *such another example of the vengeance of this kind*.'—*Archbishop Sharp's Sermons*, vol. ii. Serm. I. entitled, *Repentance the Means for averting God's Judgment:* preached before the House of Commons, April 11, 1679."

† Second Book of Chronicles, chap. xxviii.

appeal! If I have misrepresented the Word of God, on which my opposition to slavery is founded, point out my errors, and I submit: but if, on the other hand, you should perceive that the texts here quoted are really applicable to the question before us; that my conclusions from thence are fairly drawn; and that the examples of GOD'S VENGEANCE against TYRANTS and SLAVE-HOLDERS ought strictly to warn us against *similar oppressions*, and *similar vengeance;* you will not then, I trust, be backward in this cause of GOD and MAN. *Stand up* (let me entreat you) '*for the land;* MAKE UP THE HEDGE' to save your country: perhaps it is not yet too late! Enter a solemn protest, my Lords, against those who '*have oppressed the stranger wrongfully.*' Ye know that the testimonies I have quoted are of God!*"

The tract "On the Injustice of tolerating Slavery, or even of admitting the least Claim to private Property in the Persons of Men in England" (the first specimen of his sentiments on the subject), has before been noticed. The success of its production may be considered, in a great measure, similar to that of one of the instances of his *religious writings*, described by the Bishop of St. David's. In his investigation of the rights of African strangers in England, he may be said to have corrected the then existing interpretation of a part of the British Laws, and to have rescued from obscurity and misapprehension one of those numerous expressions of dignified humanity, which characterize our invaluable Constitution.

In that remarkable Tract, instead of diverging into subtleties or remote points of the subject, he set forward by laying aside completely the metaphysical parts of the question, and rested the whole weight of his argument on unanswerable points of English Law. He could only have been successfully controverted by proving that his law-quotations were not correct,—a circumstance which his assiduity rendered impossible. Throughout the whole of his reasoning in that work, there is a singular mixture of humility with an entire

* This is the passage to which he alludes in his MS. 1779, expressing his satisfaction at finding that "the Bishops did not oppose or take amiss the appeal" which he had made to them two years before. (p. 187.)

self-possession and determinateness, which were the fruits of his zeal and comprehensive labour *.

His collection of Legal Memoranda†, on the occasion of the several trials of African Slaves, was calculated to form a valuable enchiridion for every Englishman desirous of knowing on what grounds his personal liberty is secured.

Of his printed works on other constitutional points, and particularly on those of our parliamentary rights, it may be remarked, that (in the same manner as in the tract on Slavery) he offers in them no opinion of which he does not openly exhibit the ground, as derived either from the ancient or existing laws of England. Throughout his political writings, his veneration for the modes of England's Government kept pace with that which he showed for her Church; and where he sometimes censured Ministers and Judges, he thought they deviated from the path prescribed to them by the admirable system of our political establishment.

The system of frank-pledge (including the duties of *watch and ward)* had his decided preference, because he thought it the best security for human liberties under Government, and because he considered it as derived from the most perfect of social ordinations, the Israelitish commonwealth, happily assimilated and united with the laws of our Saxon ancestors. Impressed with these ideas, he presented his tract "On Congregational Courts" to Mr. Pitt, in 1784‡; and, in a letter also "to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval,

* * ———— "cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo."—HOR. *de Art. Poet.*

† Not published.

‡ It was accompanied with the following introductory note.—

"The Author of the enclosed book has ever preferred public good to private emolument, and cannot fail, therefore, to be impressed with a most cordial esteem for a Minister of State who has most nobly pledged himself, '*as a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly,*' to promote a parliamentary reformation.

"The book contains some information on that point not generally known, though founded on much higher authority than that of the Author (or rather Compiler) of it, who has no claim to any other merit in this business, except that of a laborious research, and much reading, to

Chancellor of the Exchequer," dated 19th December 1808, after "warning him of gross perversions of the English Constitution of state, which were completed in that year," and of their necessary consequences, he adds,—"I sincerely believe that a full restoration of the ancient legal frank-pledge is the only measure, in the present awful times, that can be truly effectual for the defence and continued prosperity of this kingdom; as it will raise an immense armed force stationed in every part of the island, both in towns, villages, and country, without the ruinous expense of military pay; being the true legal system of a local militia."

The *sacred authority* on which he rested in the case here stated, was drawn from the appointment by Moses (in the 18th chapter of Exodus) of "rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, and rulers of tens:" and he pleaded for the revival of our ancient constitutional form, as it was first instituted in England by *Alfred;* in consequence of which, he says, "that monarch maintained peace among his own subjects, and chastised robbers in such sort that he commanded golden bracelets to be hung up in the roads, divided into four ways, which might brave the avidity of passengers, while there was none who dared snatch them away*."

bring the information to light. The want of an index has compelled him to subjoin some references to such particular points as have any relation to the worthy Minister's plans of reformation.

[Those relative to frank-pledge are]—

" Constitutional remedy for the present national immorality and corruption would be found in the re-establishment of the ancient *views* of frank-pledge.....Page 185 to 189
" That frank-pledge (i. e. the ancient government by tithings, hundreds, &c.) was ordained by Magna Charta to be 'kept entire' 98
" That Sheriffs, &c., have already ample powers, without any new law, to re-establish frank-pledge in their respective jurisdictions, and the advantages of such a re-establishment ..... 147 to 149
" A short account of the happy effects of the tithings, or numerical divisions of a community 277
" Of burgage-tenure, and the rights of householders or deciners ..... 39 to 53
" That to restore those rights would be a legal and most effectual remedy for parliamentary corruption, and without innovation ..... 51"

* " Licet inter arma leges sileant, ipse tamen Aluredus Rex inter fremitus armorum leges tulit, et centurias, quas *hundredas* dicunt, et decurias, quas *tithingas* vocant, instituit, pacem

On the basis of frank-pledge he raised his proposal for parliamentary reform, by the mode of suffrage derived from that institution; the character of "householders, or masters of families," as there defined, "happily including," he says, "all persons of every rank and deno-"mination that ought, in strict justice and ancient prescription of "constitutional right, to elect and send their own Representatives to "Parliament, whether as knights, citizens, or burgesses*."

How far such a proposition stands removed from the rude notion of *universal suffrage* (although he frequently uses that term in his writings), needs not be again remarked†. Mr. Sharp's *rule* of *obedience* has been too fully shown to need any farther vindication of his opinion on the subject; but if it were wanting, it would be found in the following remark, written with his own hand on the back of a printed paper, entitled, a "Declaration of those Rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain without which they cannot be free,"—a paper said to have been written by Sir W. Jones, and proposing universal suffrage in its fullest sense.—

Remark.—"The Author of this paper has not been aware that his proposal for a universal suffrage would be a most dangerous innovation

inter suos custodivit, et latrones in tantum castigavit, quod in semitis quæ per quadrivium finduntur, armillas aureas jussit suspendi, quæ viantium aviditatem arriderent, dum non essent, qui eas arriperent."—*Chronicon of John Brompton.*

According to Mr. Sharp's view of the subject, the community of Great Britain was divided into counties, parishes, hundreds, and tithings. The tithings consisted of ten adjoining householders: the ten adjoining tithings formed a hundred. In each of these divisions, a headman, elected by the members, was called a tithingman, and a hundreder. The latter were justiciaries, or preservers of the peace.

In the tithings, every householder was annually *pledged* by the other nine, who became responsible for his conduct, and for any damage which he might occasion. These householders form the real constitutional body of *electors* at every calling of the Parliament. They are necessarily *freeholders*, or holders of tenements by burgage tenure (excluding all tenants at will), in order to entitle them to the ancient indisputable right of *freo-borges*, or free-pledges, to send *burgesses* to Parliament.—*See the passages referred to by Mr. Sharp in the preceding note.*

* "Account of the ancient Division of the English Nation into Hundreds and Tithings," pp. 49 and 51.

† See note in p. 194.

and encroachment on the just rights of the English householders and responsible burgesses, and would deprive the state of their responsibility, in which consists the *summa et maxima securitas* of the English frank-pledge, the very foundation of the English Constitution, the *summa et maxima securitas* of the state and people, and the only true and effectual security to the Crown under a limited and legal Monarchy."

The variety of the subjects which he successively treated is amply shown by his own Catalogue. There is nothing more pleasing in society, than to contemplate men of superior capacity applying their abilities to the ordinary purposes of life. The Investigator of the *Law of Nature* devoted a portion of his leisure to *improving the Child's First Book*, for mothers and teachers; and the Vindicator of England's universal gift of Freedom was seen with equal zeal instructing Foreigners in the rudiments of her language.

Of his many miscellaneous writings, it might be tedious to enter on a minute examination. An account of several of the most important is given by himself in his Catalogue; and several others have been noticed in the course of these Memoirs. Suffice it, then, here to state of them, *without a single exception*, (by repeating Dr. Franklin's words in one of his letters to Mr. Sharp), they "ALWAYS HAVE SOME PUBLIC GOOD FOR THEIR OBJECT."

CONCLUSION.

WHATEVER may have been the judgment formed by the reader, in perusing the narrative of Mr. Sharp's life, the writer of it would think himself unjust to the memory of this extraordinary man, if he did not frankly avow, that the diligent investigation of his character and actions (necessary to the performance) has produced a powerful, and, he hopes, a beneficial effect on his own mind. During a tedious research into confused and crowded documents, the increasing admiration of a virtuous character has continually compensated his labour, and has daily added to his conviction of the value of that religious goodness, of which the mere contemplation was able to soothe fatigue and pain, and in whose rule of action the best desires of the heart appear to find their contentment.

If the circumstances of Mr. Sharp's education be taken into view: if it be considered that he was removed from school before he had learned the rudiments of the dead languages; that he passed his early youth in apprenticeship to trade, and his manhood in the Ordnance Office; that he, by his own study, unassisted by regular instruction, became so accurately informed in the English Laws, as to be able to overset the decisions of an Attorney and Solicitor General, and even to alter the opinions of Lord Mansfield himself, then sitting in judgment; that he so deeply investigated the Greek language, as to be able to discover and correct errors in the translation of our New Testament, which had escaped the learned of this country for centuries; and that his corrections in those points were admitted and publicly approved by men of eminent critical knowledge; that he became so profound a critic in the Hebrew tongue as to induce one of the most learned Hebraists of our age to propose that his Rules should be adopted in the grammar of our public schools; and, finally, that

these several acquisitions were made without any desire of reputation for learning, but merely for the prosecution of purposes which he held sacred and necessary to the performance of his duty to God and his fellow-creatures ;—if to these we join the consideration of the several important objects attained by his active endeavours in the cause of freedom and of religion (which have furnished the materials of these Memoirs) ;—if all these circumstances be weighed, it is difficult to regard him without sensations of reverential awe, not wholly dissimilar to the feelings with which we reflect on the illustrious characters recorded in the Scriptures, as the peculiar instruments of Heaven's high and holy purposes.

When to his arduous attainments and exertions, are added the child-like mildness, simplicity, and humility of his character, and the unceasing benevolence of his disposition, he must be ranked among those who have most zealously revered the "example left to us" by our Divine Instructor, and who have most diligently "followed his steps."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.—(*see* pp. 17, 18.)

A few Particulars of that Establishment, not inserted in the Memoirs—extracted from "An Account of the Uses to which the old Roman Tower in Bamburgh Castle has been appropriated."

SCHOOLS.—Sixty children of each sex are admitted on the charity. All children are received (till the number is complete) whose parents do not farm above 10*l.* per annum, or who have not a certain income to that amount. The *boys* are taught Latin and English, writing, arithmetic, navigation, and other branches of the mathematics. The *girls* are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, plain and fine work, and knitting.

GRANARIES—supplied with corn and meal, to be retailed to the poor at a fixed price, (be the market price ever so high). No poor persons, from whatever distance, are excluded from the benefit of the sale.

REPOSITORIES.—1. For scales, weights, measures, compass, and other instruments for surveying.

2. For receipts and writings, and for such deeds and writings as may be deposited there by private persons, as in a place of security against fire and other accidents; also, for standard brass weights and liquor-measures, for the regulation of shops and public-houses.

A large LIBRARY, for the use of the neighbouring clergy and others.

MILLS, for malt, wheat and barley, and pease;
MANGLE;
STEELYARDS, large and small; } **for public use.**
SCALES and WEIGHTS, ditto;
BORE RODS, with chissels, scoops, &c.

TRIANGLE, for weighing hay, which is sold cheap to the poor.

CORK JACKETS, for the use of those who put off in boats to the assistance of ships in distress.

GRAPPLES, BOAT-HOOKS, SEA-TONGS.

FLAGS FOR SIGNALS.

A DAY-WATCH, kept during eight months of the year.

COMPLELE CHIRURGICAL APPARATUS AND INSTRUMENTS, for the use of the neighbourhood in cases of accidents.

LABORATORY, with furnace, retort, receiver, &c.

APPARATUS—for making artificial water.
for the recovery of drowned persons.
electrical.

MORTARS, &c., for medical purposes. The *Ormskirk* and other useful medicines.

PRINTED ACCOUNTS of the signals, stores, and provisions for seamen, ships, and vessels in distress.

December, 1771.

N. B. All expenses of every kind about the castle, that do not come under the denomination of charity, are defrayed by Dr. J. Sharp.

No. II.

HYLAS.—(*see* p. 48.)

Remarks on the Case of John Hylas and his Wife Mary.

THE freedom of John Hylas is indisputable, even though it should be admitted that the villenage doctrines are still law, and that the West-India slavery is justly entitled to succeed it, and to be established on that obsolete foundation.

Hylas lived more than a year and a day in a free state, without being claimed; by which circumstance alone he is certainly enfranchised, though there are several other circumstances, which, separately, would have been amply sufficient for that purpose. The effect of these circumstances is proved and confirmed by the subsequent proceedings of the master, who lately *pleaded by his counsel* to Hylas's action in a Court of Record, *without demanding him as his property.*

Hylas therefore being free, his wife must necessarily be allowed to be free also; for that his wife and he be one person. "Vir et uxor sunt quasi unica persona, quia caro una, et sanguis unus.—*Bracton*, lib. v. p. 416, *in the Law.*" (*Lit.* lib. ii. p. 112.)

Sir John Fortescue, in the 42d chapter of his book De Laudibus Legum, quotes our Lord's words in the Gospel to this purpose—"*Jam non sunt duo, sed una caro.*" Upon which he thus reasons: "Et cum masculinum concipiat fœmininum, ad masculinum quod dignius est, referri debet tota caro sic facta una," &c.

So that it is most certainly true, that the woman follows the condition of the husband; and if *he* be free, so must *she* likewise.

It must, therefore, appear, that Mr. Newton has forcibly carried away and transported, contrary to laws of God and man, a free woman, the wife of a free man, at a time when

she was resiant in this kingdom, and consequently a subject. He is, therefore, certainly liable to all the penalties of the Habeas Corpus Act against such flagrant offences; and if the courts of law do not adjudge those penalties against him, I know not how they can be excused from the charge of doing a manifest injustice to Hylas, who is as much entitled to 500*l.* damages, at the least, besides treble costs, by this Act of Parliament, as the first lawyer of the kingdom would be, if he should lose his wife in the same manner.

On the other hand, perhaps, it may be said, that Mr. Newton is entitled at least to the value of his former slave, and may sue the husband for the same, according to the doctrine of Sir John Fortescue in a similar case, when a free man married a Neif (Naif) or Native: "Recuperabit versus liberum illum (says he) omne damnum quod ipse sustinuit ratione deperditi servitii et amissæ ancillæ." But even if it should be admitted that this is law at present, yet Mr. Newton should consider that the utmost damages which can reasonably be allowed him for the loss of his female slave will not exceed 30*l.* which is very inconsiderable when compared with the damages due from himself to Hylas, according to the Habeas Corpus Act.

But it may also be said, perhaps, that Hylas cannot prosecute upon this Act, because it is near three years ago since the offence of transporting his wife was committed; whereas the prosecution, according to the Act, must be within two years. Nevertheless, it must be remembered, that the offence against the Act continues as long as the wife is retained in slavery; and the husband, therefore, may with propriety bring his action according to the said Act, even seven years hence, or as long after that time as his wife should remain under that unlawful confinement beyond the seas;—provided that it was not in his power, for want of money or friends, to demand her sooner; or for any other reasonable cause, as that he durst not, for fear of the master, lest he himself should likewise be trepanned and transported.

But the present opinion and inclination of our courts, it seems, with respect to the Habeas Corpus Act, and the West India slavery, is supposed to be very different from what I have here laid down; yet I have never been able to trace out *a sufficient* reason for this, neither have I ever met with any person that could.

This supposed opinion, therefore, is rather to be esteemed a general prejudice, than a proper authority, and so ought not to avail in the least, unless reason (I mean *legal reason, warranted by authority of law)* prevail also.

It was on account of this *supposed* opinion, I presume, that Hylas's counsel thought themselves obliged to bring the action for damages alone, which, it seems, ought to have been principally for the recovery of the wife. So that this same supposed opinion has occasioned a manifest injury to Hylas, which, in the end, must appear very unworthy of the courts.

The poor man, indeed, was asked in court, whether he would have his wife, or damages? He replied, he desired to have his wife.

But why this cruel alternative? If he had a right to his wife, which cannot be denied, he most certainly had a right to damages also, in consideration of the violent and unpardonable outrage committed against *himself* in the *person* of his wife, for which no pecuniary allowance whatsoever can really make him amends: at least I should think so, was the case my own.

It was nevertheless insinuated in court, that Hylas had not much regard for his wife;

that he rather wished for damages than to recover the person (though the event proved otherwise); and, therefore, that the damages should be proportioned to the loss which might appear to be sustained.

But this is a new doctrine, as repugnant to the laws of God as to the common law of this kingdom: for, according to both these, a man and his wife are considered as *one*—that is, one flesh, which I have already shown.

Now they either are one flesh, or they are not so; for no third person whatsoever has any right to define a medium, either with respect to their conjugal relationship or their mutual affection. The laws must ever suppose that both these are entire, especially when sufficient proofs of a lawful marriage are not wanting, and the parties themselves do not sue for a separation.

It is therefore very plain and clear, that Hylas, as a husband, has a right to his wife by the laws of God and man; and, as a subject of England, has a right likewise to very considerable damages, as well by the Habeas Corpus Act as by the common law and common justice.

Nevertheless, before the cause was opened, nay even during the time that the clerk was tendering the oath to the jury, Sir Fletcher Norton came into court, and acquainted the judge, that now the great important question concerning the rights of retaining slaves in England was likely to come before his lordship; signifying, at the same time, that it is a point of great difficulty, and that a judicial determination is much to be wished for, or to that purpose, &c.

Sir Fletcher likewise observed afterward, that there are now in town upward of 20,000 Negroes. I could have told him, that there would soon be 20,000 more, if the important and difficult point, as he calls it, was to be determined on his side of the question: whereas, if it was clearly proved, on the other hand, that Negros become free on their landing in England, it is very certain that their West-Indian masters, who are so tenacious of this kind of property, would for the most part be prevented thereby from bringing them.

Now it may safely be allowed, that the cause which Sir Fletcher espoused—viz. the right, or rather wrong, which the West Indian claims as his prerogative, forcibly to transport a person out of this kingdom—*is a point of great difficulty*. It is so difficult, indeed, that it cannot possibly be admitted, until some valuable statutes are annulled by proper authority, and until the common law and custom of this realm is totally changed; which time I hope we shall never see.

The slave-holder's counsel must first of all convince the whole Legislature, King, Lords, and Commons, that some singular benefit will arise to the community, if they will condescend to give a sanction to such flagrant breaches of the peace as that particular transaction which was then before the court.

But it will be still more difficult for the slave-holder's counsel to find just argument for this purpose, though one of them could burst into *a loud contemptuous laughter* at the very mention of damages for such an outrage.

How far *this kind of eloquence*, in which that gentleman seemed so happily to excel, might influence or prejudise the judgment of his hearers, I know not; but sure I am, that such a method has no more connection with sound and just *reasoning* than it has with good manners.

But to return to the important question—One of the slave-holder's counsel wished that it might now be determined.

He could not mean, I think, that he wished it to be determined in favour of the oppressed, because that is sufficiently determined already, as well by the common law and custom of England, which is always favourable to liberty, and the freedom of a man from imprisonment, as by the 12th section of the Habeas Corpus Act, which expressly determines the point, that *no subject* of this realm, that now is, or hereafter shall be, an inhabitant of this kingdom of England, dominions of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall be sent prisoner into Scotland, &c., or into ports, garrisons, *islands*, or places beyond the seas; and that every such imprisonment is hereby enacted and adjudged to be illegal, &c. So that really there is not any difficulty at all in the question, notwithstanding that I have heard some very grave and learned lawyers affirm the contrary, to my great astonishment and mortification.

But none of those gentlemen I speak of have as yet made it appear that there is any thing so commendable, or worthy of imitation, in the West-India slavery, that it deserves to be admitted also into this kingdom.

And therefore I hope they will no longer persist in defending so bad a cause, lest they should bring upon themselves also the charge of inhumanity, according to the maxim of the great Chancellor Fortescue, "Impius et crudelis judicandus est qui libertati non favet."

No. III.

ADDRESS OF THE WARD OF LIME STREET.—(*see* p. 64.)

To the Right Honourable Brass Crosby, Esq., Lord Mayor of the City of London.

MY LORD,

The Inquest and Inhabitants of the Ward of Lime Street, truly sensible of your Lordship's earnest endeavours to support and maintain the laws of this kingdom and the rights of the citizens of London, beg leave to testify our approbation of your Lordship's conduct in this alarming situation of affairs.—[This paragraph was added by the Ward.]

A due limitation of power by just and equitable laws, is surely the best foundation of happiness for all nations: and the English Nation, in particular, hath ever esteemed this point essential.

We are taught to believe, even by a positive law (13th Charles II. cap. i.), "That there is no legislature, in either or both Houses of Parliament, without the King;" and therefore we cannot conceive that a command, or mere resolution, of any one of these branches, should oblige us to dispense with reasonable and beneficial laws confirmed by

all the three, when even their united authority cannot enact any thing contrary to the principles of law and reason.

No law, for instance, can be made to dispense with perjury or theft, or to confirm or pardon an encroachment or "nuisance in the highway, which still continues and is not ended until removed,"* nor to "confirm a trespass or unlawful entry upon a man's house or land,"* or to "make a man judge in his own case,"* or indeed to establish any other *mala per se*, which are prohibited by the common law.

We also beg leave to observe, that the obligation of magistrates to render strict justice, according to their oaths of office, is so deeply founded in the laws of religion and reason, that to dispense therewith would be as much a *malum in se*, as any thing that we have mentioned; and, consequently, a command or injunction for that purpose, even THOUGH IT WAS ENFORCED BY THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THE WHOLE LEGISLATURE, would (as in any of the other cases) be null and void in itself; "For a law which a man cannot obey, or act according to it, is void and no law; and it is impossible to obey contradictions, or act according to them."* (Vaughan's Rep. 339.)

It is with great concern we see your lordship refused in solemn judgment the benefit of THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT, the right of every Englishman, under pretence that one court of judicature cannot interfere with the privileges of another court, in cases of contempt.

Contempts, my lord, were formerly confined to offences committed within the courts;* and vain will be our boast of liberty, if contempts of court be suffered to extend beyond those limits.

There is nothing, however, which we shall be able to say concerning law, that your lordship is not already sufficiently acquainted with; but we shall, nevertheless, beg leave to observe, "That the law of the land is the highest inheritance that the King hath; for by it himself and all his subjects are ruled: and if there was no law there would be no king nor inheritance." (19th Hen. VI. cap. 63.)*

Every infringement, therefore, of law, especially when extended to the unlawful imprisonment, not merely of his Majesty's subjects, but even of his Majesty's legal ministers and magistrates, is a manifest injury to our most gracious Sovereign, for whom we entertain the most unfeigned respect and affection.

We are thoroughly persuaded also, that your lordship is no less sincerely attached to his Majesty's sacred person, family, and true interest, than ourselves: but loyalty includes many other duties besides those which are owing to the Sovereign; for the latter constitute only a part (though indeed an essential part) of loyalty; whereas an exact and conscientious observation of the laws is absolutely necessary to establish a character of true loyalty, even in the strictest sense of the word.

It is TRUE LOYALTY, therefore, that hath hitherto distinguished your lordship's conduct in your present high office, and which, at this time, deservedly demands our sincerest acknowledgments.

We are, my Lord, &c.

* Copious notes on the several passages marked with an * are among Mr. Sharp's papers.

No. IV.—(*see* p. 94.)

ON THE OPINIONS OF MR. HUME, MR. ESTWICK, AND MR. LONG, CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED NATURAL INFERIORITY OF NEGROES.

Marginal Remark of G. S. on page 33 *of "An History of Jamaica and Barbadoes, published" (as it was said by Mr. Estwick) "for the Benefit of the West-Indian Sufferers, with a Sermon on that Occasion."*

MR. ESTWICK, the reputed Editor of this Book and Agent for the island of *Barbadoes*, made a serious attempt, in his second edition of "*Considerations on the Negro Cause*," &c. (1773), to prove that Negroes are a different species of men, and want the "*moral sense*" (see p. 75) which Dr. Hutchinson had declared to be peculiar to human "*nature*" "*essentially to distinguish man from beasts.*" And after citing and adopting the infidel Hume's idea about "*several species of men,*" (which is a gross attack on Revelation) he adds in a note—"Although a Negro is found, in Jamaica or elsewhere, ever so *sensible and acute, yet if he is incapable of moral sensations, or perceives them only as* SIMPLE IDEAS, *without the power of combination in order to use,* (which I verily believe," says he, "to be the case), *it is a mark that distinguishes him from the man who feels* and is capable of these MORAL SENSATIONS, who knows their application and the purposes of them, as sufficiently as he himself is distinguished FROM THE HIGHEST SPECIES OF BRUTES. All this atheistical doctrine from Hume about "*different species of men,*" and Mr. Estwick's notions that the Negroes are "*incapable of moral sensations, and perceive them only as simple ideas,*" &c., are indiscriminately adopted by the author of an History of Jamaica (in three vols. 4to. 1774, said to be written by *Mr. Long*), who has added many other strange conceits and inconsistent remarks of his own, for the same uncharitable purpose of degrading the Negroes below the dignity of *men*, in order to vindicate the *inhuman* pretensions of the West-Indian slave-holder to treat them *like brutes!* See vol. iii. p. 477. See also p. 376, where he says, "We cannot pronounce them *unsusceptible of civilization, since even apes* have been taught to eat, drink, repose, and dress *like men;* but of all the human species hitherto discovered, their *natural baseness of mind* seems to afford least hope of their being (except by miraculous interposition of Divine Providence) so far refined as *to think* as well *as act like men.*" But the partiality, on this point, of the writer himself, is so lamentably predominant, that he seems (according to Mr. Estwick's description of the Negroes) to be "*without the power of combination in order to use*"—"*a mark which distinguishes him* (says Mr. Estwick) *from the man who feels,*" &c.;—so that he has been *incapable* of discerning that *slave-holders* on this subject neither "*think* nor *act like men;*" and that there is "*no baseness of mind*" so despicably *inhuman* and *immoral* as that which prompts a man to become an *advocate for slavery* in any of its branches! In page 360 he extols the docility of the *Orang Outang*, in order, by comparison, to depreciate that of the *Negro;* and says, "*I do not think that an Orang Outang*

husband would be any dishonour to an Hottentot female," &c. "*Has the Hottentot*" (says he) "*from this portrait, a more* MANLY *figure than the Orang Outang? I suspect that he owes, like the Orang Outang, the celerity of his speed to the particular conformation of his foot,*" &c. And in order to inculcate this idea of a "*different species of men,*" he says, speaking of the *Mulattoes,* in p. 335, "Some of them have intermarried here with those of their own complexion; but such matches have *generally* been defective and barren. They seem, in this respect, to be actually of the *mule kind,* and not so capable of producing from one another as from a commerce with a distinct White or Black." But this advocate for slavery would not have said, that "*such matches have* GENERALLY *been defective,*" if he could have said that they are *always defective, like mules;* so that the *defect* is only in his own argument, as *mules* and *mulattoes* are utterly dissimilar in the very point on which he has founded the comparison: for if *some* such marriages have *increase,* it is manifest that there is *nothing* in the connection contrary to the *order of nature,* such as that which prohibits the increase of mules by mules.

But what shall we think of the *inferiority* of the Negroes, when we read what this author allows concerning the propensity of the White men to "*cohabit with Negresses and Mulattoes, free or slaves,*" *since not one in* "*twenty can be persuaded*" (says he) "*that there is either sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave,*" &c. p. 327. And in p. 330, speaking of the "*public and avowed keeping of Negro or Mulatto mistresses,*" he says, "*Habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes.*" What must we think, I say, therefore, of the pretended inferiority of the Negroes, if their *women* have such notorious influence over their *White masters?* We must either conclude that this author has been guilty of gross and wicked misrepresentation in comparing them with *apes* and *ourang outangs,* or else that almost all the White inhabitants of our islands ("*not one in twenty*" being excepted by him) are guilty of gross and abominable bestiality! Let the *refined* author show his "*moral sensations*" and *superiority* of *discernment to that of the Negroes* in choosing which side of this dilemma suits him best! In short, all that *he, Mr. Hume,* and *Mr. Estwick,* have presumed on this supposed *natural inferiority* of the Negroes, is utterly indiscriminate, and *without foundation.* The evidence against these slanderers of human nature is notorious and unquestionable, and clearly vindicates the much-injured Negroes. The Scriptures declare that God "*hath made of* ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN *for to dwell on* ALL *the face of the earth,*" &c.; and Moses has circumstantially declared the parentage of ALL *those nations* from our common *parent Noah:* and besides, the descendants of Ham, by the clear evidence of holy Scripture, have in different periods attained the highest pitch of human grandeur and importance, as *nations of men,* in all the arts of war and peace: as the princely states of Tyre and Phœnicia; the ancient and powerful kingdom of Egypt; nay, the first kingdom among men, the Babylonian monarchy, founded by Nimrod the son of *Cush,* a *Negro,* as were all his descendants the *Cushites;* the ruling tribe in the kingdoms of Saba and Sheba, Numidia, Abyssinia, Mauritania, &c. &c. extending even into Europe, as well as to the furthermost bounds of India: so that all the arguments to the contrary, asserted by Mr. Hume, Mr. Long, and Mr. Estwick, are TOTALLY FALSE, and in that respect are TRULY DESPICABLE. But when we consider that the *purpose* and *intention* of such

arguments was to deprive a very great part of mankind of the common *rights and dignity of human nature,* in order to justify the *enslaving* and treating them as *brute beasts,* it must be allowed that there never were greater instances of "*brutality,*" or more manifest tokens of a want of "*moral sensations,*" than what those writers themselves have shown us in their own wicked attempts against the Negroes! How shall we distinguish such writers "*from the* HIGHEST SPECIES OF BRUTES?" By their shape? by their speech? or in their "*perception by* SIMPLE IDEAS?" Yet surely not by their "MORAL SENSATIONS!" for in that respect their *humanity* is plainly deficient.

No. V.

VIRGINIAN PETITION.—(*see* pp. 103, 112, 118, &c.)

Extracts from the Minutes of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, Wednesday, April 1, 1772.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg leave with all humility to approach your Royal Presence.

The many instances of your Majesty's benevolent intentions and most gracious disposition to promote the prosperity and happiness of your subjects in the colonies, encourage us to look up to the Throne, and implore your Majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature.

The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of *great inhumanity;* and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will *endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions.*

We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emolument from this sort of traffick; but when we consider that it *greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more White inhabitants,* and may in time *have the most destructive influence,* we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's governors of this colony which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.

Your Majesty's ancient colony and dominion of Virginia hath, at all times, and upon every occasion, been entirely devoted to your Majesty's sacred person and government; and we cannot forego this opportunity of renewing those assurances of the truest loyalty and warmest affection, which we have so often, with the greatest sincerity, given to the

best of Kings, whose wisdom and goodness we esteem the surest pledge of the happiness of all his people.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to his Majesty.

Resolved, That an Address be presented to his Excellency the Governor, to desire that he will be pleased to transmit the Address to his Majesty, and to support it in such manner as he shall think most likely to promote the desirable end proposed.

No. VI.—(*see* p. 139.)

REMARKS ON MR. G. SHARP'S "SHORT INTRODUCTION TO VOCAL MUSIC."

BY WILLIAM SHIELD, ESQ., MASTER OF HIS MAJESTY'S BAND OF MUSICIANS.

To Prince Hoare, Esq.

My dear Sir, Berner's Street, ——, 1816.

As you are pleased to remind me of a promise I made to you, I sit down, in compliance with your request, to write the sentiments which I delivered verbally at our last interview.

Before I proceed to the examination of the "Short Introduction to Vocal Music, by the late Mr. Granville Sharp," according to your friendly desire I shall state the few facts which you thought might prove interesting, particularly as they are connected with a family whose virtues were an honour to human nature, and whose memory is revered by all survivors who had the happiness to witness them.

The late Archdeacon of Northumberland, Dr. Sharp, held residence in Durham at an early period of my life, and honoured me with an invitation to his weekly performances of sacred music, to which he was so partial, that, notwithstanding he had a voluminous collection of Handel's scores, he commissioned me to subscribe for Dr. Arnold's edition of his favourite author, and to forward each number to his library immediately after publication. This worthy Dignitary of our Church also desired me to be the bearer of a letter to his brother, William Sharp, the late eminent surgeon, which proved a passport to his excellent concerts in the Old Jewry, where, at the first performance of the season in 1780, I had the honour of being an auditor (only), which afforded me the gratification of appreciating the beauties of Haydn's best quartetto in his Ninth Opera, as they were most charmingly expressed by La Motte, Dance, Blake, and Crosdill. But at each succeeding concert I experienced the advantageous pleasure of accompanying all the instrumental performers of the first class then residing in London.

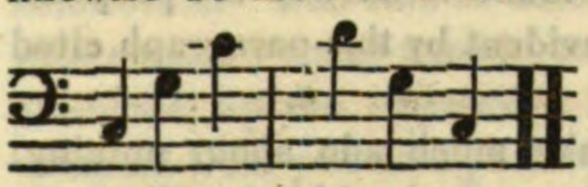
This fortunate situation gained me the encouragement of Mr. James Sharp, the

merchant, who astonished me by playing the violoncello part of trios upon a serpent; and Mr. Granville Sharp, who performed duets upon two flutes, to the delight and conviction of many doubters, who had conceived such an accomplishment to have been impracticable.

It used to be the frequent practice of the latter to walk from Fulham to St. Paul's Church, and to join in the chanting part of the Cathedral Service. This pleasing duty of a Christian qualified him to write those judicious observations which he published in his charitable tract, with the laudable intention of shortening the labour of attaining the desideratum, "singing at sight,"—an acquirement which added to his own earthly happiness, and prepared him to bear hereafter a choral part in the service of God.

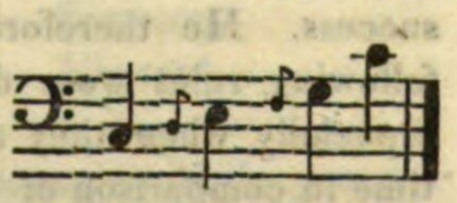
The most material remarks I have to make upon the particular parts of the Introduction, I shall communicate to you in order as the passages will occur in the course of the examination. The first that offers itself is in Rule VIII. p. 13.

"The easiest method of hitting the distances is practised by those who play on the French-horn, or trumpet; for, as the tones from those instruments are not formed by the fingering, like others, but only by the lips and breath, so the idea of passing from note to note must be much the same as in singing. They commonly sound the key-note of their instrument, and its third, fifth, and octave, backwards and forwards, in tuning, before they begin to play any piece, and strictly observe on what lines or spaces those notes (the third, fifth, and eighth) should be placed, according to the cliff they play in; for, as they must keep the sound of their key-note in idea, so they readily from thence sound the third, fifth, and octave, having used their ear to those distances, which, like steps, convey the performer to all other notes of the musical scale. Before the young practitioner studies the following examples, he must accustom himself (by ear only, and without notes) to sound, first the sharp third, and the fifth and eighth, and then the flat third and the fifth and eighth, to any given note; which any person, who has the least knowledge of music, can teach him, by first sounding them for him to imitate. Let him likewise be used to sound the fifth and octave to any given note, missing the third as

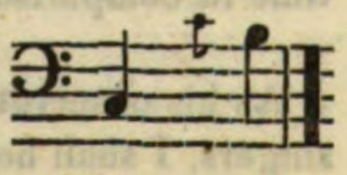


and to strike octaves with the intermediate notes as

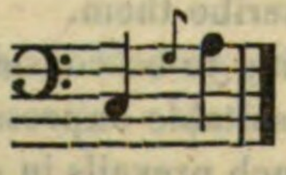
And if he finds it difficult to hit a third, let him suppose a note between the given note and the third, as



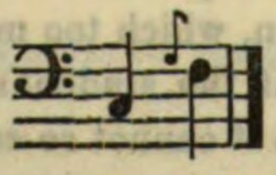
To find the tone of a seventh, let him suppose the octave before it



To hit a sixth, let him suppose the fifth first, as



And to find the fourth above the key, let him touch softly first upon the fifth, as



With

some practice in this method, a person who has a good ear for music may acquire so clear an idea of the distances, that he will be enabled to sing tolerably at sight, without those last-mentioned assistances."

Having lately made extraordinary exertions to obtain (either by loan or purchase) every book which professes to teach the art of singing at sight, I shall be much surprised if the reader of the above quotation has met with this method of hitting distances in any other published Preceptor, but Mr. Sharp's. The monosyllables Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, taken from a Latin Hymn used in honour of St. John the Baptist, have long been the young singer's elementary guides to distances in every country; and have enabled many practitioners (according to the musician's objectionable phrase) to arrive at a perfect intonation by hitting difficult intervals correctly.

Dr. Pepusch preferred Guido's Hexachord for Solmization or Sol-fa-ing. Rousseau condemned the old English method, which retrenched the Ut and Re from it. The greater part of treatises, and instructors, recommend Le Maire's addition of Si to it. But Mr. Sharp, like many others, looked upon all these methods as perplexing and unnecessary impediments in the shortest and easiest road to the end he had in view. He recommends all his exercises to be sung with the monosyllable La; which is not exactly the short practice of the modern Italians, for they drop the liquid L, and only use the open vowel A. But in their conservatorios the elaborate Solfeggio, with modulations and mutations, is severely taught: they also substitute Do for Ut.

Mr. Sharp's scales showing the different octaves of the three cliffs—where the semitones occur in what he terms the flat and sharp keys—his measurement of distances and time—are nearly the same as those taught and exemplified by the best didactic authors and masters. But, in justice to Mr. Sharp, it will be readily acknowledged, that although he was blest with learning, he has condescended to explain them with language more intelligible to common readers; and I doubt not that the "Short Introduction to Vocal Music, by Granville Sharp," has been, and will be, found to answer the purposes of instruction; which is all that was aimed at, as will be evident by this paragraph cited out of his modest preface:—

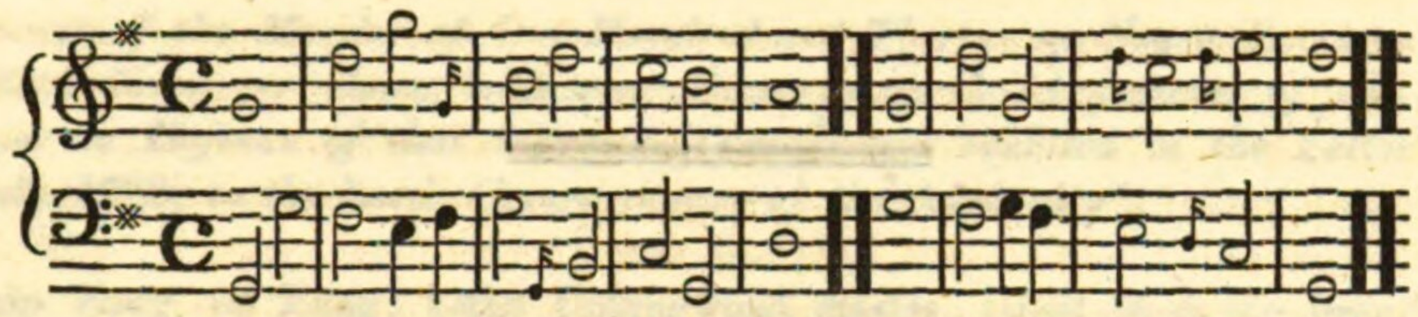
"The author, however, that he may not seem to make much ado about nothing, begs leave to assure his readers, that, insignificant as his method of hitting distances may appear to some, it has nevertheless been practised by several persons with great success. He therefore flatters himself, that the young persons for whose use the following rules were drawn up, will not esteem them unworthy their consideration, especially when they shall find that this method of learning music requires very little time in comparison of the old method of Sol-fa-ing."

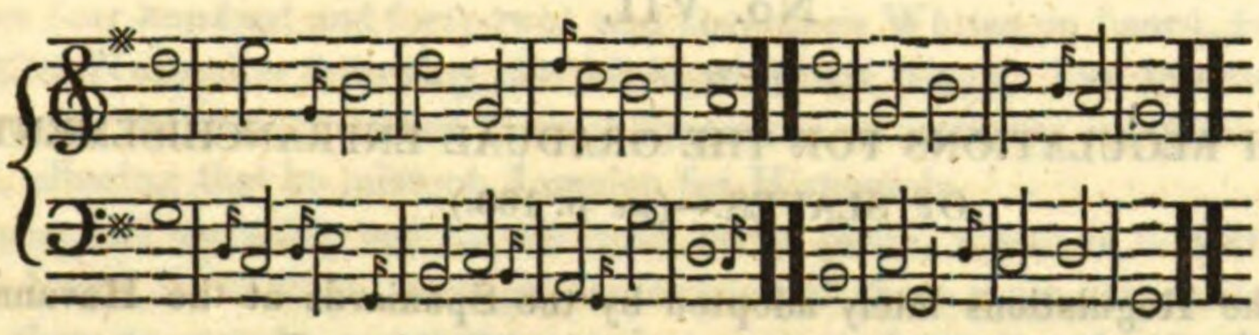
As his observations on choir music (p. 29) may be read with advantage by inarticulate singers, I shall here transcribe them.

"The next material thing to be considered in vocal music, is the speaking of the words distinct and plain, with suitable expression; which alone, and not the singing quick (a false notion, which too much prevails in choir music), can add spirit to the performance: but this, if the student's own genius does not direct him, must be taught by a good master, as it cannot so easily be explained in writing.

"To conclude, I must advise the learner to choose the easiest and slowest compositions to begin his practice with, such as common Psalm tunes, aud other slow movements. A farther and complete understanding of vocal music can only be acquired by being long conversant in the science.

"Some examples for practice are subjoined, wherein the supposed notes* are inserted, agreeable to the directions in p. 15.





Having now finished my remarks upon the Introduction, with as much accuracy, I hope, as was requisite, I shall beg leave to conclude with an apposite anecdote, which escaped me in its proper place.

A magnificent barge, in which the three harmonious brothers, their relatives and friends, occasionally made extensive excursions on the Thames, attracted universal admiration. The ears of listening auditors on the crowded banks were gratified, not with common water-music, but with the more mellifluous tones of stringed instruments, produced by the expressive fingers of professors so highly excellent that I cannot withhold from you an alphabetical arrangement of their names:

Abel,	Cramer,	Park,
Bach,	Crosdill,	Paxton,
Barthelemon,	Giardini,	Simpson,
Borghi,	Hay,	Vincent.
Cervetto,	La Motte,	

The vocal effects were equally delightful, as you will readily conceive while you are reading the following list of such distinguished performers:

Harrison,	Linley (Mrs. Sheridan),	Reinhold;
Harrop,	Osman,	

who were alternately accompanied by a Bates, a Burney, a Cooke, a Parsons, or a Wesley.

"* The supposed notes are distinguished from the appoggiaturas, by being marked as semiquavers; and the learner must endeavour to be swift and transient in the use of them."

This well-constructed vessel attracted the notice of their Majesties, and afforded accommodation suitable to the dignity of royalty.

My dear Sir,—I value your regard for truth so highly, that I have been particularly careful not to risk the loss of your friendship by the admission of a falsehood into the above remarks: for it ever has been, and ever shall be, the wish of my heart to remain

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM SHIELD.

No. VII.

SPANISH REGULATIONS FOR THE GRADUAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF SLAVES.—(*see* p. 188.)

N.B.—"The Regulations lately adopted by the Spaniards at the Havannah and some other places for enfranchising slaves, are to the following effect.

"As soon as a slave is landed, his *name, price,* &c. are registered in a public register; and the master is obliged, by law, to allow him *one working day* in every week to himself, *besides Sundays:* so that if the slave chooses to work for his master on that day, he receives the wages of a freeman; and whatever he gains by his labour on that day is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot deprive him of it. This is certainly a considerable step towards the abolishing *absolute slavery.* As soon as the slave is able to purchase *another working day,* the master is obliged to sell it to him at a proportionable price—viz. one-fifth part of his original cost;—and so likewise the remaining four days at the same rate, as soon as the slave is able to redeem them: after which *he is absolutely free.* This is such encouragement to industry, that even the most indolent are tempted to exert themselves. Men who have thus worked out their freedom, are inured to the labour of the country, and are certainly the most useful subjects that a colony can acquire. Regulations might be formed upon the same plan, to encourage the industry of slaves *that are already imported into the colonies,* which would teach them how to maintain themselves, and be as useful, as well as less expensive, to the planter. They would by such means become members of society, and have an interest in the welfare of the community, which would add greatly to the strength and security of each colony: whereas, at present, the planters are in *continual danger of being cut off* by their slaves."

No. VIII.

SHIP ZONG.—(*see* p. 243.)

An Account of the Murder of One Hundred and Thirty-two Negro Slaves on Board the Ship Zong, or Zung, with some Remarks on the Arguments of an eminent Lawyer in Defence of that inhuman Transaction, enclosed in the Letter of the 2d July, 1783, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*.

THE ship Zong, or Zung, Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, the 6th September, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves (or four hundred and forty-two) and seventeen Whites on board, for Jamaica; and on the 27th November following she fell in with that island; but, instead of proceeding to some port, the master, either through ignorance or a sinister intention, ran the ship to leeward, alleging that he mistook Jamaica for Hispaniola.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place, which is almost constantly the case on board slave-ships, through the avarice of these most detestable traders, which induces them to crowd, or rather to *pack*, too many slaves together in the holds of their ships; so that on board the Zong, between the time of her leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th November 1781, sixty slaves and upwards, and seven White people, died; and a great number of the remaining slaves, on the day last mentioned, were sick of some disorder or disorders, and likely to die, or not live long.

These circumstances of sickness and mortality are necessary to be remarked, and also the consequence of them—viz. that the dead and dying slaves would have been a dead loss to the owners, and, in some proportion, a loss also to the persons employed by the owners, unless some pretence or expedient had been found to throw the loss upon the insurers, as in the case of Jetsam, or Jetson—*i. e.* a plea of necessity to cast overboard some part of a cargo to save the rest. These circumstances, I say, are necessary to be remarked, because they point out the most probable inducement to this enormous wickedness.

The sickness and mortality on board the Zong, previous to the 29th November 1781 (the time when they began to throw the poor Negroes overboard alive), was NOT occasioned by the want of water; for it was proved that they did not discover till that very day, the 29th November (or the preceding day), that the stock of fresh water was reduced to two hundred gallons: yet the same day, or in the evening of it, "*before any soul had been put to short allowance*," and before there was any present or *real* want of water, "the "master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and told them to the following "effect:—that, if the slaves died a natural death, it would be the loss of the owners of "the ship; but if they were *thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the*

* This account was accompanied with various *vouchers*, to which all the passages marked with inverted commas are referred.

"*underwriters:*" and, to palliate the inhuman proposal, he the said Collingwood pretended, that "it would not be so cruel to throw the *poor sick wretches* [meaning such "slaves] into the sea, as to suffer them to linger out a few days under the disorders with "which they were afflicted, or expressed himself to the like effect." To which proposal the mate (whose name is Colonel James Kelsal) objected, it seems, at the first, and said "there was no present want of water to justify such a measure." But "the said "Luke Collingwood prevailed upon the crew, or the rest of them, to listen to his said "proposal; and the same evening, and two or three or some few following days, the said "Luke Collingwood picked, or caused to be picked out, from the cargo of the same "ship, one hundred and thirty-three slaves, all or most of whom were sick or weak, and "not likely to live; and ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea; which "most inhuman order was cruelly complied with." I am informed, by a memorandum from the deposition of Kelsal the chief mate (one of the murderers), that fifty-four persons were actually thrown overboard alive on the 29th of November; and that forty-two more were also thrown overboard on the 1st December. And on this very day, the 1st December 1781, before the stock of water was consumed, there fell a plentiful rain, which, by the confession of one of their own advocates, "continued a "day or two, and enabled them to collect six casks of water, which was full allowance "for eleven days, or for twenty-three days at *half-allowance;*" whereas the ship actually arrived at Jamaica in twenty-one days afterwards—viz. on the 22d December, 1781. They seem also to have had an opportunity of sending their boat for water no less than thirteen days sooner, viz. on the 9th December, when they "made the west "end of Jamaica, distant two or three leagues only," as I am informed by a person who was on board: and yet, notwithstanding this proof of a possibility that they might perhaps obtain further supplies by rain, or that they might be able to hold out with their new-increased stock of water till they might chance to meet with some ship, or be able to send to some island for a further supply, they nevertheless cast *twenty-six more* human persons alive into the sea, *even after the rain**, whose hands were also fettered or bound; and which was done, it seems, in the sight of many other unhappy sufferers that were brought up upon the deck for the same detestable purpose, whereby ten of these miserable human creatures were driven to the lamentable necessity of jumping overboard, to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were likewise drowned!

Thus one hundred and thirty-two innocent human persons were wilfully put to a violent death, not on account of any mutiny or insurrection, nor even through the fear of any such—(for the circumstance of being brought up upon the deck with their hands loose, and in so large a number together as more than ten at one time, and also the circumstance of binding and casting others overboard in their presence, which terrified ten of them into the desperate act of jumping overboard, entirely excludes the least idea of fearing an insurrection),—but merely on a pretended plea of *necessity through the want of water,* (as alleged by the murderers)—a plea of necessity which is confuted even by the circumstances of the evidence produced in favour of it!—a want, which was so far from taking place when the murder was committed, that they had at least two hundred gallons of fresh water, *by their own confession,* besides two butts and a half

* See Vouchers.

of what they called sour water, and that neither the slaves, nor the crew, had been put to short allowance, which management would have subsisted the whole number till the rain afforded them a comfortable supply *. So that, even if the plea of necessity for the wilful murder of innocent persons was at all admissible (which it never can be) in a case of want or scarcity, yet no such necessity existed in the present case; because it is proved, even by their own evidence, that the stock of water was sufficient to have held out till the time that an ample supply was actually received.—But there never can be a necessity for the wilful murder of an innocent man, notwithstanding the high authority of those learned and dignified persons who seem to have conceived a contrary idea†, because wilful murder is one of the worst evils that can happen among men; so that the plea of a necessity to destroy a few men in order to save many, is not only the adoption of a declared damnable doctrine, ("Let us do evil that good may come!"), which is extreme wickedness, but is also extreme ignorance; for it is obvious that the death of many by misfortune, which is properly in the hand of Divine Providence, is not near so great an evil as the murder of a few, or even of *one* innocent man—the former being the loss only of temporal lives, but the latter endangers the eternal souls, not only of the miserable aggressors themselves, but the souls also of all their indiscriminate abettors and favourers. God's vengeance is so clearly denounced against *wilful murder*, that it is certainly a "malum in se" of the most flagrant and odious nature, such as cannot, without extreme ignorance of the English common law, be admitted in a legal justification; because our law supposes that all honest and true men ("probi et legales homines") have the fear of God before their eyes (*the contrary* being the preamble to arraignment and condemnation): and, consequently, all men, in all countries *where Christianity is to be deemed an established part of the law (as in Eugland)*, are required not to fear even death, or any thing that can hurt the body, so much as Him who hath power over both body and soul. And therefore, whenever a man wilfully takes the life of an innocent man on pretence of necessity to save his own, in any case where the plea of *se-defendendo* will not hold (which requires proof of an actual attack by the deceased, who therefore is *not an innocent* man—such an attack as must be inevitable by any other means than the death-wound), such a man, I say, is guilty of a *felonious homicide*, and also of (what is equally cognizable by our common law) a gross contempt of God, in being more afraid of death and of temporal sufferings, than of God's eternal judgment: so that the felonious disposition which our law condemns—viz. the not *having the fear of God before his eyes*—is clearly marked upon such an offender, and upon all his abettors and defenders! And, therefore, a learned and dignified lawyer did certainly place himself very inconsiderately under the same felonious description of mind, when he asserted, in behalf of these murderers, "*I could not suffer another man to live, when the single question was, whether I should prefer my life to his*," &c. I trust, from the general good character of this eminent person, that he did not mean what his words express; for a man who sets so high and over-rated a value on life, independent of all principle of right and the fear of God, is unfit to be trusted at all in any society.

I should not have taken notice of such an unreasonable argument, and much less have troubled your Lordships with it, did not the official dignity of the speaker, and his high

* Vouchers. † Ibid.

reputation as a lawyer, compel me to guard against the adoption of his avowed doctrines in the present case; lest *precept*, as well as *impunity*, should encourage the Liverpool traders to multiply their murders, to the disgrace of the English name, and to the destruction of the human species. "If any man of them" (said the learned advocate for Liverpool iniquity, speaking of the murderers in the present case), "if any man of them "was allowed to be tried at the Old Bailey for a murder, I cannot help thinking, if that "charge of murder was attempted to be sustained, it would be folly and rashness to a "degree of madness: and, so far from the charge of murder lying against these people, "there is not the least imputation—of cruelty I will not say, but—of *impropriety: not* "*in the least!!!*"

This destruction of living men he considered, it seems, as if it were merely the case of chattels or goods. "It is really so," says he: "it is the case of throwing over "goods: for to this purpose, and the purpose of this insurance, they are goods and "property; and whether right or wrong, we have nothing to do with." But at the same time, he ought not to have forgot the *nature* of these goods or property, for that is the most material circumstance of the case; and yet he either indiscriminately overlooked, or criminally suppressed, this most indispensable point of consideration—viz. that it is also *the case of throwing over living men:* and that, notwithstanding they are, in one sense, unhappily considered as goods or chattels (to the eternal disgrace of this nation!), yet that still they are *men;* that their existence in *human nature,* and their actual rights as men, nay, as *brethren,* still remain! So that the supposed property in their persons (which is so highly, so shamefully favoured) is, after all, a very limited sort of property—limited, I say, by the inevitable consideration (if we are not *brutes* ourselves) of their *human nature:* and therefore the argument of the learned lawyer, asserting that this is the case of chattels or goods, whereby he endeavoured to suppress the idea of their being *at the same time* human persons, and the necessary consideration in favour of the *life of man,* which our law requires, is certainly *liable to the imputation,* not only *of cruelty* and *impropriety* (though he has asserted the contrary), but must also be imputed to the grossest indiscrimination, which is unpardonable in his profession as a lawyer, especially when the most obvious natural right of human nature is at stake—viz. the right even to life itself.

The *property* of these poor injured Negroes in *their own lives,* notwithstanding their unhappy state of slavery, was infinitely superior, *and more to be favoured, in law,* than the slave-holders' or slave-dealers' iniquitous claim of property in their *persons:* and therefore the casting them alive into the sea, though *insured* as property, and valued at thirty pounds per head, is not to be deemed the case of throwing over *goods,* &c. according to the learned advocate's indiscriminate argument, "as *any other irrational* cargo," says he, "*or inanimate cargo, might be,*" &c., but it is a flagrant offence against God, and against all mankind; which, so far from deserving the favour of a judgment against the insurers, to make good the pecuniary value of the property as of mere goods and chattels, ought to have been examined and punished with the utmost rigour, for the exemplary prevention of such inhuman practices for the future; because our common law ought to be deemed competent to find a remedy in all cases of violence and injustice whatsoever. "*Lex semper dabit remedium.*" "*Lex* HOMINEM *rebus ejus præfert, vitam et libertatem* (not the slave-holder's property) *et* JUSTITIAM *omnibus.*" "*Lex*

libertati, vitæ, pudicitiæ, et doti favet; RECTO *autem in omnibus et* ANTE OMNIA." *Life* and *liberty*, therefore, are *rights* which demand favour and preference in law; so that a *right to live* ought by no means to have been suppressed in favour of a mere pecuniary claim in the most doubtful species of property, the service of Slaves, the very reverse of what the law is required to favour, and which it cannot countenance without tincture of iniquity, nor without violence to its own excellent principles. The learned lawyer ought not to have neglected these necessary maxims: but, on the contrary, his argument was so lamentably unworthy of his dignity and public character, and so banefully immoral in its tendency to encourage the superlative degree of all oppression, *Wilful Murder*, that the author of it, as well as the indiscriminate jury who favoured the horrible transaction by their judgment against the insurers, must be considered as abettors and parties, in the guilt at least, of all the murders of the same kind that may hereafter be promoted by this failure of justice, and by the lamentable want of distinction between good and evil which has been so notoriously manifested in this inhuman business.

The only pleas of necessity that can legally be admitted, or are worthy of being mentioned in this case, are—1st. A *necessity* incumbent upon the whole kingdom to vindicate our national justice, by the most exemplary punishment of the murderers mentioned in these vouchers;—2d. The *necessity* of putting an entire stop to the Slave Trade, lest any similar deeds of barbarity, occasioned by it, should speedily involve the whole nation in some such tremendous calamity as may unquestionably mark the avenging hand of God, who has promised *to destroy the "destroyers of the earth."*

Old Jewry, 2d July, 1783.

No. IX.

SOME REMARKS ON A LATE ATTEMPT TO VINDICATE THE SLAVE TRADE BY THE LAWS OF GOD.—(*see* p. 262.)

A REVEREND Author, Mr. Thomas Thompson, M.A., has lately attempted to prove that "the African Trade for Negro Slaves is consistent with the principles of *humanity* and *revealed religion*."

From Leviticus xxv. 39—46, the Rev. Mr. Thompson draws his principal conclusion —viz. "that the buying and selling of Slaves is *not contrary to the laws of nature*; for" (says he) "the Jewish constitutions were strictly therewith consistent in all points; and "these are, in certain cases, the rule by which is determined, by learned lawyers and "casuists, what is or is not contrary to nature." But these premises are not true; for the Jewish constitutions were not strictly consistent with the laws of nature in all points, as Mr. Thompson supposes, and consequently his principal conclusion thereupon is erroneous. Many things were formerly tolerated among the Israelites, merely through the mercy and

forbearance of God, in consideration of their extreme frailty and inability at that time to bear a more perfect system of law. Other laws there are in the Five Books (besides the ceremonial laws, now abrogated) which are merely municipal, being adapted to the peculiar polity of the Israelitish Commonwealth, on account of its situation in the midst of the most barbarous nations, whom the Hebrews were at all times but too much inclined to imitate.

The universal *moral laws*, and those of *natural equity*, are, indeed, every where plentifully interspersed amongst the peculiar laws above mentioned; but they may very easily be distinguished by every sincere Christian, who examines them with a liberal mind, because the benevolent purpose of the Divine Author is always apparent in those laws which are to be eternally binding: for it is the *reason* of the law which constitutes the *life of the law*, according to an allowed maxim of our own country, "Ratio legis est anima legis." (Jenk, cent. 46.) And with respect to these moral and equitable laws, I will readily agree, with the Reverend Mr. Thompson, that they are the best rules by which learned judges and casuists can determine what is or is not *contrary to nature*, *(Digression about Law of Nature.)*

But I shall now give a few examples of laws which are themselves contrary to nature, or natural equity, in order to show that Mr. Thompson's *premises* are totally false.

The Israelites were expressly permitted, by the laws of Moses, to give a bill of divorce to their wives whenever they pleased, and to marry other women; and the women who were put away were also expressly permitted by the Mosaic Law to marry again during the lives of their former husbands: all which practices were manifestly contrary to the law of nature in its purity, though not, perhaps, to the nature of our corrupt affections and desires. For Christ himself declares that "*from the beginning it was not so*," (Matt. xix. 8, 9.): and at the same time our Lord informed the Jews, that "Moses because of the hardness of their hearts" suffered them to put away their wives.

Neither was it according to the law of nature that the Jews were permitted, in their behaviour and dealings, to make a partial distinction between their brethren of the house of Israel and strangers. This national partiality was not, indeed, either commanded or recommended in their law, but tolerated, probably for the same reason as in the last-mentioned instance.—"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy *brother*," &c. "Unto a *stranger* thou mayest lend upon usury," &c. (Deut. xxiii. 19.) Again, "of a *foreigner* thou mayest exact (that is, whatsoever *has been lent*, as appears by the preceding verses); but that which is thine with thy *brother*, thine hand shall release." (Deut. xv. 3.) Now all these laws were contrary to the law of *nature*, or *natural equity*, and were certainly annulled, or rather *superseded*, by the more perfect doctrines of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE taught by Christ himself, who "came not to destroy but to *fulfil* the law."

In the Law of Moses we also read, "Thou shalt not avenge or bear grudge against the *children of thy people*; but thou shalt love thy *neighbour as thyself*." (Lev. xix. 18.) The Jews accordingly thought themselves sufficiently justified, if they confined this glorious perfection of charity—viz. *to love others as themselves*—to the persons mentioned in the same verse—viz. the *children of their own people*: for they had no idea that so much love could possibly be due to any other sort of neighbours or brethren. But Christ taught them, by the parable of the Good Samaritan, that *all strangers whatever*, even those who are declared enemies (as were the Samaritans to the Jews),

are to be esteemed our neighbours, or brethren, whenever they stand in need of our charitable assistance. The Jewish institution, indeed, as Mr. Thompson remarks, permitted the use of bond-servants, but did not permit the *bondage of brethren*. Strangers only could be lawfully retained as bondmen: "Of the Heathen" (or more agreeably to the Hebrew word, of the *nations*) "that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy." "They shall be your bondmen for ever." (Leviticus xxv. 39—46.)

This was the law with respect to a stranger that was purchased: but with respect to a *brother*, or *Hebrew of the seed of Abraham*, it was far otherwise, as the same chapter testifies (39th verse): "If thy brother that dwelleth with thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou *shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant;* but as a hired servant and a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; and then *shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him*," &c. This was the utmost servitude that a Hebrew could *lawfully* exact from any of his *brethren* of the house of Israel, unless the servant entered voluntarily into a perpetual servitude. And let me add, that it is also the very utmost servitude that can lawfully be admitted *among Christians*, because we are bound, as Christians, to esteem *every man* our *brother* and our *neighbour*, which I have already proved; so that this consequence which I have drawn is absolutely unavoidable. The Jews, indeed, who do not yet acknowledge the commands of Christ, may perhaps still think themselves *justified*, by the law of Moses, in making partial distinctions between *their brethren* of Israel and *other men;* but it would be inexcusable in Christians: and therefore I conclude that we certainly have no right to exceed the limits of servitude which the Jews were bound to observe whenever their poor *brethren* were sold to them: and I apprehend that we must not venture *even to go so far*, because the laws of *brotherly love* are infinitely enlarged and extended by the Gospel of Peace, which proclaims GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN without distinction; and because we cannot truly be said to *love our neighbours as ourselves*, or to *do to others as we would they should do unto us*, whilst we retain them against their will in a despicable servitude, as slaves and private property, or *mere chattels*. The glorious system of the Gospel destroys all narrow national partiality, and makes us citizens of the world, by obliging us to profess *universal benevolence;* but more especially are we bound, as Christians, to commiserate, and assist to the utmost of our power, all persons in distress or captivity, whatsoever the "worshipful Committee of Merchants trading to Africa" may think of it, or their advocate the Rev. Mr. Thompson.

Charity, indeed, begins at home, and we ought certainly to give the preference to our own countrymen, whenever we can do so without injustice: but we may not do evil that good may come (though statesmen and their political deceivers may think otherwise); we must not, for the sake of Old England and her African trade, or for the supposed advantage or imaginary necessities of our American colonies, lay aside our *Christian charity*, which we owe to all the rest of mankind, because, whenever we do so, we certainly deserve to be considered in no better light than as an overgrown society of robbers, a mere banditti, who perhaps may love one another, but at the same time are at enmity with all the rest of the world. &c. &c.

No. X.—(*see* p. 292.)

Extract of a Letter from Mr. A. Afzelius to his Excellency the Chevalier v. Engestrom, the Swedish Ambassador in London, dated Sierra Leone, 15th November, 1794.

"THE English colony at Sierra Leone had, like all other new colonies, in the beginning great difficulties to overcome; but order and industry had begun to show their effects in an increasing prosperity.—A new town has been laid out, with regular streets, and a little garden belonging to each house. The woods have been cut down to the distance of about half a Swedish mile (three and half English) all round the town. By this means the climate is become healthier, and sickness has diminished. The fame of our colony has been spread, not only along the whole western coast of Africa, but also to parts far distant from the coast; and we have had embassies from kings and princes, several hundred miles distant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendship. They began to send their children to us with full confidence, in order to be brought up in the Christian religion. In short, we were externally respected, and internally happy. For my own part, I could never wish for a better situation. I had every comfort I wanted. I had a house of my own, which was large enough to contain specimens of all the natural treasures of this coast. It was surrounded by a fine garden, in which I had myself planted the scarcest plants and the most beautiful aromatic flowers, which delightfully recompensed my pains. I had also many living animals, including about thirty birds. Natural curiosities poured into my collection from all quarters; and a fresh collection, which I begun on the 4th of last August, was more valuable in the space of two months, than all that I had got together from the time of my last return to Sierra Leone.

"But all these treasures are no more. The French have been here and have ruined us. They arrived on the 28th of September last, early in the morning. So well had they concealed their nation, that we all took them at first for English. They had English-built vessels, rigged in the English manner. They showed the English flag, and had their sailors (at least those whom we saw on deck) dressed like English. In short, we did not perceive our mistake, till we observed them pointing their guns. We had not strength sufficient to resist, and therefore our Governor gave orders that a flag of truce should be hoisted; but they still continued firing. As we did not understand the meaning of this proceeding, we asked them for an explanation, and they answered us, that we should display the *flag of liberty*, as a proof of our submission: we assured them that it should already have been done, if we had had any such flag, which terminated the hostilities from the ships.

"By this time most of the inhabitants had fled from the town. I was with the Governor, together with a number of others; but as soon as I was certain that it was an enemy's fleet, I went towards my own house, with a view to save as much as possible of my property and natural collections, but was received in such a manner that I could not

venture to proceed. My house was situated near the shore, and unfortunately just opposite the frigate which fired. I saw the balls passing through the house, and heard them whizzing about my ears. I saw that I should lose all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I hastened to the woods.

In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almost destitute of people, but rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores. They began immediately to break open the houses, and plunder: what they did not want they destroyed, burned, or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields, streets, yards, or elsewhere, not sparing even asses, dogs, and cats. These proceedings they continued the whole succeeding week, till they had entirely ruined our beautiful and prospering colony.

When I returned to the town, I found my house converted into a melancholy guard-house: my money, clothes, my very valuable instruments, and most of my furniture, were either carried off or broken to pieces. The rest, which was of no use to the enemy, but on which I myself put just and great value, I had the mortification to find so totally destroyed, that the sight almost drew tears from my eyes. My neat and beautiful little garden I found entirely ruined, the trees cut down, and the plants pulled up by the roots. My living animals and birds were partly eaten, and partly thrown out of doors with their heads cut off. My library and collections of animals, fruits, and flowers (preserved in spirits of wine), of birds, insects, shells, herbarium fruits, and seeds, together with all my manuscripts, all were thrown down and spread over the whole floor, where they were mixed with offals of victuals, treacle, rum, beer, and other things of the kind.

At last I received leave from the French Commodore to clear away this dirty mixture. I had then the floor swept, and collected what was not wholly spoiled in three sacks, which now contain all the miserable remnants of my property, except the clothes on my back.

When the enemy found nothing more worth plundering, they set fire to all the public buildings, and all the houses belonging to Europeans, and consequently to mine among the rest. Nine or ten houses of the colonists also were burnt by mistake.

In the mean time, the enemy was not less active on the water. They took about ten or twelve prizes, including the Company's vessels: most of these they unloaded and burned. They took also two of our armed vessels, one of which was a large ship, laden with provisions, and which had been long expected by us, but unfortunately arrived a few days too soon, and was taken, with her whole cargo. We expected at least to receive our private letters; but even this was refused, and they were thrown overboard.

At last, after inflicting on us every hardship we could suffer, only sparing our lives and the houses of the colonists, they sailed on the 13th October last at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold Coast, and left us in the most dreadful situation, without provision, clothes, houses, or furniture. Most of us must have perished, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both Natives and Europeans, who were so happy as to escape the enemy, kindly sent us what they could spare.

Besides the common misfortune, I have several grievances which make me particularly uneasy. All that I could possibly save from destruction was a few books, some dry herbs and seeds, and only a few fragments of my manuscripts. These last were my most valuable property, and the only sure vouchers I could produce, to certify my perseverance and attention in my researches, in the course of my travels! But most of them

are no more, and many of them can never be restored: as, for instance, my journal from the time I first came to this place till this terrible catastrophe, &c. Descriptions of natural productions, and of my collections, I might perhaps in a great measure replace, had I only the necessary instruments and other requisites; but I have lost all! What then can a poor beggar do in a desert? He must endeavour to employ his time in the best manner, patiently submit to the will of Providence, and wait until assistance can arrive.

Before I finish, I beg leave to make two general observations on the conduct of the French in this place.—First. That they acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental principles—viz. *the spreading of light and liberty*—when they plundered this colony, which has been instituted for those very purposes; viz. to abolish the Slave Trade, to enlighten the Africans, and to render them virtuous and rational, free and happy. This establishment, which has no parallel in history, at first so much attracted the attention of the National Assembly, that several of its members, as I have been told, wrote to the Directors of the colony in London, and assured them that neither their ships nor colony should be exposed to the Republican arms. I have good reason to believe that this correspondence is yet preserved. That promise, once made to our Directors, had lulled both them, and us in the colony, into so profound a security, that neither they nor we could think of any possible attack, and consequently had not put ourselves in any state of defence.

Secondly. That they acted against the laws of neutrality in plundering me. I told them that I was a Swede, and a naturalist, who was exposing my life in Africa for the sake of making discoveries for the benefit of all nations, and was residing here only for a certain time, without having any thing farther to do with the English.

They all acknowledged that I was ill treated, and many of them even *insisted* that I ought to be indemnified for my loss. This sounds well; but that they did not appear to be serious, I think I can conclude from what I experienced. When I first entered into my house, and found that there were still some trunks left, I asked for one of them, but was answered that it belonged to the Captain of one of the frigates; and when I then asked for another, *that* belonged to *such* or *such* an officer, &c. &c. They had, however, just before agreed, that I had suffered much injury.

The following day, when the Captain himself came on shore, I asked him for my trunk. He shrugged up his shoulders, and complained much of my misfortune, saying that he would do me this little favour with all his heart, if only it was in his power. Another time, I saw in my room a bed-cover. I asked the officer, who was on his post, for it, and he gave it to me; but a sailor came immediately and tore it from me, saying that it belonged to him, and I lost it. I could mention many similar instances. But the plain truth of the matter was, that the officers had no authority, and the sailors did what they pleased. The former were, in general, very sensible and respectable men, who were very sorry for those violences that were committed, but complained sincerely that it was totally out of their power to prevent them. The latter, or sailors, seemed, in general, to be miserable and in great want, but, at the same time, cruel, and could be compared only to wild beasts, who live by devouring their prey.

No. XI—(*see* p. 327.)

REGULATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE SETTLERS AT SIERRA LEONE.

To the worthy Passengers on Board the Myro Brig.

" Dear Friends, " Leadenhall Street, 20th May, 1788.

" I send you enclosed a copy of the long letter which I wrote, on the 16th instant, to the inhabitants of the Province of Freedom in Sierra Leone, which will explain many circumstances to you, that would otherwise require a distinct recital in this letter. I send you also a copy of my charter-party with Captain John Taylor for the Myro brig, that you may be thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the service for which I have engaged him, and also the copy of a second agreement with Captain Taylor, to deliver live stock at Sierra Leona for the use of the new settlement.

" I have sent you a list on board of all the provisions, stores, clothing, &c., which have been shipped, on my account, for your use, and for the use of the settlement; and I desire that all persons on board the Myro, who may be desirous of making copies of the said list, and also of the charter-party for the ship, and of the agreement for cattle, shall be permitted to do so, and to have recourse to them at all convenient times, that they may know what stores are on board, for the common good, and that they may be fully informed of the general intentions of this expedition, in which they are all equally interested. And I appoint Messrs. Richard Collins, Henry Estwick, John Irwin, Thomas Peal, Alexander Sanders, and Charles Tacitus, to be trustees on my part, to take charge of all the said stores, provisions, &c., and to appropriate them to the several purposes expressed in this letter, and also in my letter to the people at the settlement. I request that all the rest of the passengers, both male and female, above sixteen years of age, and not named as trustees, shall elect one other careful sober person, who can read and write, to be added as a seventh trustee, with equal powers to the six trustees already named: and if it should please God that any of the trustees should die, or if a vacancy should happen by their leaving the ship, or any other means, the whole body of the passengers, above sixteen years of age, must fill up the vacancy by a free election, and must appoint such persons as the majority of them shall choose. And I desire that the said seven trustees so appointed, and so elected as proposed, shall give a certificate, or certificates, to Captain Taylor (or his representative), agreeable to the true performance of his charter-party and agreement.

" I must also request, that, as soon as the ship leaves the port of London, all the male passengers, above sixteen years of age, will form themselves into dozens; and that each dozen will elect a head-borough, and an assistant head-borough, whose authority must be controlled by the majority of votes in each dozen. If any dispute should arise in any of the dozens, which cannot be settled by the majority in that dozen, a court of common council must be formed, by assembling all the dozens, and either an election

must be made of one of the head-boroughs to preside in the assembly, or else it must be decided by lot which of the head-boroughs shall preside in the common council.

" The dozen which is first formed and completed must be deemed the first dozen, and must be distinguished accordingly; and so of the second and third, in numerical order.

" If you can make a general agreement amongst yourselves to consume only half of the usual daily allowance of provisions, it will certainly contribute much to your health during the voyage, and be of great advantage to yourselves, by leaving a larger proportion of provisions to be distributed amongst you, when you land in the settlement. I have no interest in giving this advice: the provisions are now your own, and of course a prudent œconomy in the use of them is only for your own advantage; and therefore you yourselves must take care that the steward has a book, properly ruled, with the names of all the passengers, that the account of provisions, issued to each person, may be duly inserted opposite to their names; that those who are prudent and temperate in their diet may be enabled to receive, at the end of the voyage, all their due proportions of the remaining provisions, together with their saving from their daily allowance.

" It is probable that some persons on board may have rum, brandy, or other spirituous liquors to dispose of among the people: if this should be the case, I hope you will carefully regard the purchasers, and warn them not to drink the spirits without being duly mixed with water; and, if any person should be intoxicated, that you will represent it either to the dozen in which he is incorporated, or else in your general assembly, that the offence may be duly reproved, and a suitable fine levied, either of *labour* to be worked out at the settlement, or else a *forfeiture of half the allowance* of provisions, for the benefit of the rest, for as many days as the majority shall think just; and in like manner also for every other misdemeanour, and more especially for profane swearing or taking God's name in vain, and for any affront, indecency, or improper behaviour, in the opinion of the majority of the assembly, toward any woman, whether married or single: for such discipline is absolutely necessary, to prevent jealousies and disputes amongst you.

" In my letter to the people of the New Settlement I have strongly represented the necessity of maintaining a free militia of all the males above sixteen years of age; and it is highly expedient that you should prepare yourselves with a knowledge of military exercise, by a daily training one-third part of the able men at a time, during the voyage. I have sent on board thirty-five muskets, with bayonets, and a proportion of powder and shot, which are more, I believe, than will be wanted for the number of males on board: but I do not give these to the passengers, but to the whole settlement, lest the people there should have imprudently parted with the arms that were left last year; and in that case, the people of the settlement must give indents to their own public bank for the value of these arms: and thirty-five stand of arms, I believe, will be sufficient for carrying on the watch and ward of the whole settlement. Nevertheless, on your arrival, and previous to your landing, I desire that all the male passengers, capable of bearing arms, may be accoutred with those arms, and with cutlasses and belts (of which there are fifty on board), that you may land in a decent and military order, that your presence may be respected both by the settlers and the natives of the neighbourhood. . . . . The retaining on deck one-third of the men at one time by rotation will tend to the health of the passengers; and if you can agree amongst yourselves, by common consent, to establish also a regular watch-duty by night as well as by day, it will inure you to such military

discipline as will conduce much to your future safety, and will be an effectual check against the ill behaviour of individuals, because the constable of the night who commands the watch must arrest and confine all disorderly persons, until they are examined by a court of all the dozens assembled together. I have provided six stout watch-coats for the night-watch, as also two dozen of leather caps, with capes to secure the necks of the wearer from cold and wet, which will be very useful also at the settlement in the rainy season.

" I earnestly request that all the people may be assembled at prayers morning and evening, and that you will previously appoint from amongst yourselves some proper persons to take their turns in reading; and also that you will endeavour to inculcate amongst yourselves a due sense of your entire dependence on the providence of God for your safety and success in the present expedition.

" As for myself, I have neither spared labour nor expense to procure for you, to the utmost of my abilities (and even beyond), whatever seemed to be immediately necessary; and therefore you cannot doubt my wishes and prayers for your happiness, and more especially that you may deserve it; that I may ever remain your sincere friend and servant,

" GRANVILLE SHARP."

" P. S. After this letter has been read, I must request that some proper person on board may be appointed to write a copy of it, and that any other person afterward, who is capable of writing, may have recourse to it, in order to copy it, as also to take copies of the charter-party and agreement with Captain Taylor, and of the invoice of all the clothing, arms, implements, stores, provisions, and money shipped at my expense, for the benefit of the passengers and settlement, that they may have full information of the intended appropriation of all these articles, and of the general design of the whole expedition, in which every individual among them is deeply interested.

" I have ordered a cask of seeds to be carried out for your use: but observe, that you will be careful to procure also, at the Cape de Verd Islands, some other seeds and plants, as Indian corn, yams, plantains, cocoa nuts of both kinds, and plants of orange-tree of the China kind (the only oranges at the settlement being of the Seville kind), figs, olives, vines, and whatever other plants you may deem most profitable.

" The lemon, or lime-tree, may be found in great abundance at the settlement, and grows there so rapidly, that mere stakes or bavins, cut from that tree, and stuck in the ground, will in a very short time strike root downwards, and branch out upward, so as to form an impenetrable fence against the panthers, and other wild beasts, for the preservation of the cattle and fowls. A ditch must first be made, and the earth from it must be thrown up as a bank, or dike, on the inside of the ditch, and on the top of that bank of earth the lime-stakes must be stuck in a row, like palisadoes, and the rest of the bank on both sides may be usefully occupied by any useful vegetable you may think proper to plant. This is called a tirpado fence, and is deemed the most effectual, though it is most easily made."

No. XII.

GENERAL ASYLUM.—(*see* p. 387.)

The Plan of a public Charity proposed by ——— ———, to which (if adopted by the City of London) he will appropriate a small Estate in the County of ———, given to him, with a Recommendation to settle it on some public Charity after his Death, but the Manner of Disposal is left entirely to his own Option.

FIRST, ——— ——— proposes to present a deed of gift to the Corporation of London, of the estate and manor of ——— (to take place after his death, when the present legacies and other charges upon it shall be duly cleared), on condition that the Corporation shall immediately appropriate a part of their own revenues to support some additional regulations for Bridewell Hospital (such as may afford a worthy example to the magistrates or trustees of all other Houses of Correction throughout the kingdom): viz.—that disorderly people, committed to that Hospital (especially very young girls of the town, and boys detected in pilfering), shall not be whipped, and then turned loose again upon the town, as usual, to the destruction both of themselves and others, but shall be detained, under proper instruction both of religion and useful labour, with a very small limited allowance of food, and no strong liquor, until some creditable housekeeper will pledge (respectively for each) their future good behaviour. The Common Law will warrant such continued confinement of disorderly or suspected persons, who have no lawful calling, nor any honest means of subsistence.

And, Secondly, That the revenues of the London Workhouse, with sufficient additions from the City, shall be appropriated to a General Asylum (for Foreigners and Strangers as well as English), consisting of three separate parts—viz. one for males, another for females, and a third for families—where all industrious persons, who cannot elsewhere procure work, shall find temporary shelter and employment for a limited time, without incurring the unmerited opprobrium and inconvenience of being deemed parish paupers: for persons who are really willing to labour ought not to suffer the disgrace and inconveniences which the Statute Law has indiscriminately thrown upon the poor, whereby many of their civil rights are suspended. The children to be turned over to the care of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, with proper allowance, from the Corporation of London, for their being instructed in separate inferior schools for mere reading and labour. The sick to be sent to St. Bartholomew's or St. Thomas's Hospital, the disorderly to Bridewell, and the lunatics to Bethlehem, on the order of a joint Committee of Governors, to be nominated by the Governors of Christs's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell, and Bethlehem Hospitals, selected from their respective lists of Governors (viz. six from each list) by the Court of each Hospital; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, for the time being, to be perpetual Governors and Members of the Committee; so that, by means of the General Asylum,

an effectual union may be formed of all the Royal Hospitals in the City, whereby an immediate relief may be obtained from any of their respective foundations.

If the Courts of the said Hospitals, or any of them, should neglect to nominate as proposed, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London may select the number wanted from the lists of Governors of the said Hospitals, and nominate thence such persons to be Governors of the General Asylum as they think will be most likely to attend this charitable public service.

The Court of Aldermen to elect, from their own body, a President; and the twenty-four Governors, from the four Royal Hospitals, to elect a Vice-President; and the whole Committee of Governors to elect a Treasurer, Vice-Treasurer, and Secretary. And that a Committee-room be appointed at Guildhall, that the assistance of the Aldermen may be more easily obtained.

Thirdly, That an experiment be made of the utility of a College of Industry, to be established in the country, at some little distance from London, with twenty or thirty acres of land annexed to it, as an appendage to the General Asylum, for the reception and employment of a part of the poor people who want work. The Proposer lately sold a field of about four acres, to be appropriated to a parish poor-house; and he has reason to believe that poor people from the General Asylum, not accustomed to work in any manufactory, might be very profitably employed in agriculture and gardening, but more particularly in raising roots for the food and increase of live stock, both beasts and fowls, and in the care and management of the same, which would be very advantageous to the public, though, perhaps, at first attended with some extraordinary expense to the City. This might be conducted on the plan published in the year 1696, "for Colleges of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry," which is here annexed; but, with respect to those that have not been taught any trade, and especially women and children, they may, in general, be employed in spinning ordinary thread and yarn, to make clothing and bedding for the Asylum, and also in washing and mending the clothes, and otherwise assisting and providing for the helpless people in the Asylum and several Hospitals.

Elderly women, turned of sixty years of age, that can produce good characters for sobriety, honesty, and prudence, may be entrusted with the inspection and care of others, as matrons, and also as teachers in the inferior working-schools, when they have sufficient abilities.

Fourthly, It is proposed to solicit the assistance and subscription of private individuals, in order to render the charity more general and effectual; and that each subscriber shall have a number of tickets for the reception of distressed persons in the Asylum, in proportion to the sum subscribed. The Tickets to be purchased of the Committee of Governors before proposed, or at their office, which might be established at Christ's Hospital, Bridewell Hospital, or Guildhall. A half-guinea ticket will afford warm and clean lodging and necessary subsistence for one man for twenty-one days; a guinea ticket for forty-two days, and so on in proportion: whereby benevolent persons will have it in their power to do more effectual charity to the poor than in any other way, and less liable to abuses. This fourth branch of the Charity may be conducted on the plan "to prevent starving," proposed by the late benevolent ——— ———, except in the mode of appointing Governors, because it is necessary that a Committee of Governors should be formed (as proposed above) from the Governors of the several established

hospitals, in order to render the general relief of the distressed more immediate and effectual by such an united Committee. Nevertheless, that as little deviation as possible may be made from the plan of ————————, the united Committee might with propriety select and appoint some additional Governors from the list of voluntary subscribers, viz. persons of unexceptionable character (in the opinion of the general united Committee) who shall voluntarily contribute such a certain adequate sum as may be thought proper to entitle them to a share in the management of the whole charity.—It is by no means intended that the proposed united Committee, as such, shall obtain any power of interference or controul over the Royal Hospitals, but merely that of giving immediate relief to proper objects, by sending them occasionally to the said Hospitals, which, as Governors, respectively, they are, at present, entitled to do.

And, with respect to the poor children, proposed to be sent to inferior schools under the inspection of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, the necessary allowance for the expense of each child must undoubtedly be made to that Hospital by the General Asylum, (or London Workhouse), from the subscriptions, or other funds; and the consent of the Governors of Christ's Hospital must also be previously obtained, to undertake the management of such additional charity, which they have certainly a right to do, if they think proper, without any impediment from their charter or present constitution.

No. XIII.—(*see note in* p. 453.)

COMPARISON OF BRUTE ANIMALS WITH MAN.

A FRAGMENT.

A COMPARISON of the gratitude of brute animals with that of mankind in general for favours and kindness conferred, affords abundant cause of censure to the latter, whose general depravity, far exceeding that of the brute creation, must be attributed to the fatal influence of inimical spirits or demons over unguarded men.

When a school-boy, I had various animals, at different times, under my protection, as favourites; and the affection even of the meanest of them, a jack-daw, cannot possibly be described in words, so strongly as it was expressed in the bodily exertions of the little animal, when he heard my foot upon the steps of the house returning from school, that he might hasten to meet me.

The same kind of gratitude I have often experienced in dogs, not my own, in return only for a little common civility and gentleness towards them, which they never forgot.

But mankind in general, though they are rendered responsible, by the knowledge of good and evil, for all their actions, words, and even thoughts, and ought, of course, to be aware that all the benefits they receive are from God—for "in Him we live, and move,

and have our being," as St. Paul declared to the pagans at Athens, Acts xvii. 28—yet multitudes of persons, both high and low, seem so little sensible of his continual presence, that they treat even his Name with the most contemptuous disrespect and ingratitude, by repeating it in the most idle foolish discourses almost at every sentence, though God has declared that he will not hold them guiltless that take his Name in vain. By such ingratitude for the Divine favours, inconsiderate men degrade themselves far below the brute creation, even of dogs and jack-daws, which are never ungrateful.

" Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth! for the Lord hath spoken. I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me!" And then immediately after our Heavenly Father produces the comparison of a contrary principle of gratitude in the brute creation:—" The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know; my people do not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters; they have forsaken the Lord!"—Isaiah i. 2—4.

A similar preference was given to the mere animal creation by the Almighty Creator, as declared by his Prophet Jeremiah, viii. 7:—" Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming, but my people know not the judgment of the Lord." . . . . .

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Ellerton and Henderson, Printers,
Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Hoare, Prince

Memoirs of Granville Sharp With Observations on Mr. Sharp's biblical Criticisms by the r. r. the lord bishop of St. David's

London 1820

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